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THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE KUSHĀN DYNASTY.

BY

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To The Librarian
S.O.A.S.
- With good wishes -
K.C. Kanf.
28.8.50

CONTENTS.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.E.	M.Cary and E.H.Warmington, The Ancient Explorers.
A.H.D.	G.Jouveau-Dubreuil's Ancient History of Deccan.
A.I.	Alberuni's India.
A.H.B.H.	N.Dutt, Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinayana.
A.M.S.J.V.	Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee volumes.
A.S.I., A.R.	Archaeological Survey Of India, Annual Report.
Acta Or.	Acta Orientalia.
Anc.Ind.	K.de B.Codrington, Ancient India.
An.I.	Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Ant.	Antiquity.
B.A.I.	A.Grünwedel, Buddhist Art in India.
B.A.I.C.J.	J.Ph.Vogel, Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java.
B.C.L.V.	B.C.Law Volume.
B.I.,	T.W.Rhys Davids, Buddhist India.
Bud.	Asvaghosa, The Buddhacarita.
C.A.G.I.	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
C.H.I.	E.J.Rapson, The Cambridge History of India, vol.I.
C.I.I.	Sten Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, II, i.

C.R.E.I.	E.H.Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India.
C.W.B.	The Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar.
Cal.R.	Calcutta Review.
Catal.C.A.D.	E.J.Rapson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty.
Co.In.I.	J.F.Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol.III.
Coi.I.	C.J.Brown, Coins of India.
Cu.He.In.	The Cultural Heritage of India.
diad.	wearing diadem.
E.C.	G.F.Hudson, Europe and China.
E.H.I.	V.A.Smith, The Early History of India.
Ep.Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
F.F.C.G.S.	H.Buchthal, The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhara Sculpture.
G.B.I.	W.W.Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India.
G.J.	Geographical Journal.
G.S.	The Geography of Strabo.
G.T.	J.Marshall, A Guide to Taxila.
Gardner, Catal.	P.Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum.
H.F.A.I.C.	V.A.Smith, A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon.
H.I.	K.P.Jayaswal, History of India.

H.I.E.A.	J.Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.
H.I.I.A.	A.K.Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art.
H.S.L.	A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period, vol.I.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.B.	T.H.Holdwich, The Indian Borderland.
I.G.I.	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I.Sh.	R.K.Mookerji, Indian Shipping.
India, I.A.	H.G.Rawlinson, India: The Historical Background.
Ind. Cul.	Indian Culture.
Inter.	H.G.Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of American Oriental Society.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.A.S.B., N.S.	Numismatic Supplement (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society.
J.D.L.	Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters.
J.G.I.S.	Journal of the Greater India Society.

J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History.
J.I.S.O.A.	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
J.M.Y.	K.P.Jayaswal, Manu and Yājñavalkaya.
J.P.R.G.S.	Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.U.P.H.S.	Journal of the U.P.Historical Society.
K.R.	Kalhana's Rājataraṅgiṇī.
L.G.A.	R.N.Saletore, Life in Gupta Age.
L.H.T.	The Life of Hiuen Tsiang by Shaman Hwui Li.
M.A.I.,I.A.	K. de B. Codrington, The Minor Arts of India.
M.A.I.P.	McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy.
M.Bh.	The Mahābhārata.
N.H.P.	The Natural History of Pliny.
N.I.A.	New Indian Antiquary.
N.S.	New Series.
Num.Chron.	Numismatic Chronicle.
O.B.I.	A.K.Coomaraswamy, The Origin of the Buddha Image.
O.Z.	Ostasiastische Zeitschrift.
Obv.	Obverse.
P.B.A.	Proceedings of the British Academy.
P.H.A.I.	H.C.Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India.

P.P.C.A.	R.C.F.Schomberg, Peaks and Plains of Central Asia.
P.R.G.S.M.R.G.	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography.
Periplus.	The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.
Pl.	Plate.
R.B.K.	A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms being an account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon.
Rapson, I.C.	E.J.Rapson, Indian Coins.
rev.	Reverse.
Richard's C.G.C.E.D.	L.Richard's Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies.
S.A.A.H.P.	D.R.Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity.
S.A.I.	Beni Prasad, The State in Ancient India.
S.B.A.	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin.
S.In.	D.C.Sircar, Select Inscriptions.
S.B.E.	The Sacred Book of East.
S.P.	J.E.V.L.Leeuw, The Scythian Period.
Ser.	A.Stien, Serindia.
Si-yu-ki	Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World.
Smith, Catal.	V.A.Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, vol.I.
T.F.S.	Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-yun.

Tur.,	E.Schuyler, Turkistan.
V.C.A.M.M.	J.Ph.Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura.
W.H.I.L.	M.Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature.
Whitehead, Catal.	R.B.Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, vol.I, Indo-Greek Coins.
Y.C.T.I.	On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Chapter 1.

A BRIEF GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

In order to understand the cultural and political history of a people, a study of the geographical features of the area concerned must be made along with the literary and archaeological data. The influence of the natural environment is reflected in the way of life of a people, which is manifested in their cultural activities. This particularly applies to the Kushāns, foreigners to India, who, like the Mughals, became Indianised. Konow has rightly stated that "The Kushāns were a tribe or a family within a large group.....this larger group was the Yue-chi".[1] There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the place of origin of the Yue-chi and it has been debated, as will be seen later on,[2] whether the Yue-chi originally lived in Chinese Turkistān or in the Kan-su province of China. However, there is no doubt that they travelled a long way before their intrusion into India. The study of the geography of the vast and varied lands through which they travelled before they settled and founded an empire is not free from complications and difficulties. Nevertheless, it is necessary to survey the physical features of these lands along with those of the Indian regions over which the Kushāns eventually ruled. Such a survey is attempted in the present chapter.

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1. S. Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, II, i, Calcutta, 1929, p.1.
2. See Infra, Chapter II.

MAP - 1


RUSSIA
MONGOLIA
CHINA
INDIA
AFGHĀNISTĀN
CHU
L. BALKHASH
ILI
TALAS
DZUNGARIA
KULDJA
MANASS
BOGDO ULA
TASHITO
BARKÖL
BARKÖL DABAN
QARLIQ TAGH
QOMUL (HAMI)
URUMCHI
TURFAN
TOKMAK
ISSYK-KUL
TEKES
KOK SU
KHAN TENGRI
TIEN SHAN
NARYN
SYR DARYA
KURLA
QARA SHAHR
KUCHA
Qurug Tagh
Pei shan
ETSIN GOL
QARA DARYA
UCH TURFAN
AQSU
ARSU
TARIM
SULO HO
ANSI
YÜMEN
KANSU
TUNHWANG (SHACHOW)
SUCHOW
KANCHOW
QARATEGIN
SURKHAB
KASHGAR
LOULAN SITE
YARKAND DARYA
TAKLAMAKAN
LOP NOR
QARA NOR
NANSHAN
OXUS
PĀMIRS
MUZ TAGH ATA
YARKAND
KHOTAN DARYA
CHARCHAN DARYA
CHARKHLIQ
Altin Tagh
RANGE
TASH QURGHĀN
QARGHALIQ
BARA RASH
KHOTAN
KERIYA DARYA
CHARCHAN
Hindu Kush
WĀKHĀN
TAGHDUMBASH
WAKHJIR P.
BAROGHIL P.
DARKOT P.
KERIYA
NIYA
KUNLUN
Karakoram range
KARAKORAM P.
KASHMIR
PESHĀWAR
INDUS
SRINAGAR
ROUTES
MILES 100 50 0 100 200 MILES
CHINESE TURKISTĀN
and adjacent parts of
CENTRAL ASIA and KAN-SU

The great Chinese province of Kan-su is mountainous; its southern border is marked at its western end by the Nan Shan - the 'Southern Mountains' of the Chinese - which is a continuation of the Kunlun chain. The Nan Shan, however, does not extend into the central portion of the province beyond Lanchow.[3] In its western reaches, the Nan Shan overlooks the Sulo Ho trough for over 200 miles, from that river's terminal marshes to its great southern bend near the oasis of Yümenshien. To the northwest of Yümen, the Jade Gate, lies Ansi; and to the west of Yümen and southwest of Ansi is situated Tunhwang (Shachow). The greater part of the province of Kan-su is watered by the Hwang-Ho and its tributaries.[4]

To the north of Kan-su province lies the great desert area, extending westwards from the Etsin Gol and comprising the barren ranges and plateaus of the Pei Shan, the 'Northern Mountains'. The extremity of the easternmost Tien Shan or 'Celestial Mountains' reaches out eastward to a point near the Hami oasis,[5] which lies to the north-west of the Pei Shan Gobi. The southern edge of the broken desert

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3. G.B.Cressy, China's Geographic Foundations, New York and London, 1934, p.41.

4. L.Richard's Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies, Transl. by M.Kennelly, Shanghai, 1908, p.35.

5. A.Stein, Serindia, Vol.III, Oxford, 1921, p.1147.

area of Pei Shan, extending westward, merges with the hill chains known as Quruq Tagh, the 'Dry Mountains'. Directly to the west of Kan-su lies the Tarim basin of Chinese Turkistān, the major portion of which is covered by the great drift sand desert of Taklamakan.

Stein has given a lucid description of the Kunlun mountains, which form the southern boundary of the Tarim basin. In the following passage he begins his description from the western point of the Kunlun proceeding eastwards: "On the southern flank of the basin there extends in an unbroken line the mighty mountain rampart of the Kunlun. Starting from the side of the Pāmirs we find it buttressing, as it were, in several high parallel ranges the great glacier-clad watershed which the Karakoram forms towards the Indus drainage. Through them they have cut their way the Yarkand river and its tributaries, the main feeders of the Tarim. What grazing there is to be found high up at the heads of their valleys is of the scantiest kind..... The routes which lead up these valleys, like those further east crossing the outermost snowy range above the little oases of Kilian and Sanju, all converge upon the Karakoram pass.....Further to the east the Kunlun raises a practically impenetrable barrier to traffic of any sort. The two rivers watering the Khotan oasis, the Qara Qash and Yurung Qash rivers, break indeed through the northern-most main range, which maintains from here onwards a

crestline of close on 20,000 feet for a distance of at least 300 miles. But their passage lies largely in extremely deep-cut and for the most part quite inaccessible gorges.....Very different in character and yet almost as forbidding and barren is the aspect which the outer slopes of the Kunlun present above the Khotan section of the basin. Here by the side of wide loess-covered pene-plains we find areas where a perfect maze of steeply serrated ridges and deep-cut gorges has been produced by erosion.....To the east of the glacier-girt high ground where the sources of the Yurung Qash river rise, the chain overlooking the Tarim basin takes for over 400 miles a trend to the north-east. Its character does not essentially change here; but its width and height are somewhat reduced, and the elevated Tibetan plateaus approach it closer from the south. Throughout the whole length of the chain the foot of its northern slopes is formed by a glacis of piedmont gravel, attaining in parts a width of 40 miles and more and everywhere utterly barren. Of the rivers which descend from the chain east of Khotan those of Keriya and Charchan alone carry their water at all seasons across this bare thirsty belt of gravel. This north-eastern bearing of the outermost Kunlun range ends approximately to the south of the point where the terminal course of the Tarim turns and dies away in the marshes of Lop Nor. From here onwards the mountain rampart hedging in the great basin resumes

an easterly bearing and sinks lower. This and the approach from the south-east of the high grazing grounds of the Chimen Tagh and of Tsaidam receiving more moisture from across Tibet account for some routes debouching here towards Lop Nor and the terminal Tarim."[6]

Towards the north-east of Lop Nor lies the dried-up bed of the ancient Lop sea, of which the present lake is only a remnant. At the extreme eastern point of this dried-up sea-bed there is the depression, that contains the terminal course of the Sulo Ho river. Stein is of the opinion that this drainageless basin of the Sulo Ho at a geologically recent period communicated with that of the Tarim.[7] On the south of the basin near the Lop tract, there lies the Altin Tagh, which merges into the Nan Shan. To the north of the whole basin of Taklamakan Tien Shan forms the boundary.

Before proceeding further with the detailed study of the great northern barrier of the Tien Shan range, it is better first to consider the Tarim basin itself. Stein says, "Its borders to the west, north, and east are marked by the belts of vegetation accompanying the Tizнaf, the Yarkand, and the Tarim rivers. To the south the border of the Taklamakan lies along the northern end of the oases, mostly small, found at intervals along the foot of the gravel glacis of the Kunlun from Qarghaliq to Niya. Further east their line is continued by patches of sandy jungle intermittently

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6. A. Stein, Innermost Asia, G.J. Vol.LXV, No.5, May 1925, pp.382-85
7. Ibid., p.384

watered by streams of small size or subsisting on scanty subsoil drainage. These patches of quasi-tame desert extend below the gravel glacis as far as the debouchure of the Charchan river. Thence the narrow belt of vegetation accompanying this river forms the border of the Taklamakan right down to its junction near Lop Nor with the dying Tarim. There are considerable outliers of the dune-covered area to be found in several places beyond these riverine borders. Of these it will suffice to mention the moving sands of Ordam Padshah, beyond the left bank of the Yarkand river, and the big triangular area filled by high sand-ridges between the terminal Tarim course and the western shores of the dried-up Lop sea-bed. Not one of the numerous rivers descending from the snowy Kunlun succeeds in making its way through the Taklamakan, except the Khotan river, and that too only during a few summer months. All the rest are lost in this "sea of sand" at a greater or lesser distance from the line occupied by the oases or the areas of desert vegetation which they adjoin. But within historical times a number of these terminal river-courses carried a greater volume of water, and hence permitted ground to be cultivated lying considerably further north than the corresponding "terminal oases" of the present day."[8.]

It has already been seen that the easternmost Tien Shan extends into the Pei Shan Gobi near the Hami Oasis. Starting from the vicinity of this region the great mountain

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8. Ibid, pp.388-89

chain extends unbroken westwards far beyond the Tarim basin and throughout forms its northern rampart. At the eastern extremity of the chain lies the high Qarliq Tagh, the 'Snowy Mountains', westward of which are Barköl and the pass known as Barköl Daban. Further to the west there is the great snowy massif of Bogdo Ula, which is crossed by the low saddle-passes of Tashihto and Tapancheng, that make the depression of Turfan with its fertile oasis accessible from the north. To the west of Bogdo Ula lies Urumchi and further north-west of it is Manass. Again, north of Bogdo Ula lies the great desert of Dsungaria, which separates the Tien Shan from the Altai Mountains[9] and gives access to Kuldja and the Ili. To the south-west of Turfan lies the Qara Shahr valley. Further west is situated the oasis of Kucha and to the west of Kucha is the oasis of Aqsu. To the north of Aqsu the high peak of Khan Tengri, 23,600 feet above sea level, rises in all its majesty. Still further west of Khan Tengri and north-west of Aqsu lies Lake Issyk-Kul.

Issyk-Kul receives forty or more small streams. The river Chu rises from a fan of small sources in the Tien Shan, to the south of the Alexandrovsky range. Its easternmost source runs about four miles from the Issyk-Kul

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9. F.E.Younghusband, A Journey across Central Asia, from Manchuria and Peking to Kashmir, over the Mustagh Pass, P.R.G.S.M.R.G., No.VIII, Aug.1888, p.496.

at the head of the Buam Pass. A small channel connects the river with Issyk-Kul.[10] To the east of Issyk-Kul, close under the high peak of Khan Tengri, there lies the Ice or Muzart Pass, which is of great importance as being the shortest route from Kuldja and the valley of the Ili to Aqsu and Kashgar, that is to say, the Muzart Pass links the Ili route[11] east and west with the northern desert east and west route. "The Ili is formed by two rivers, the Tekes and Kunges, both rising in Tien Shan and uniting a little above Kuldja, where they are joined by another, the Kash."[12] The Ili flows west until north of Issyk-Kul it suddenly turns towards the north-west and so reaches Lake Balkhash.

Describing the western parts of the Tien Shan mountains Schuyler says that "The Tien Shan is not the simple mountain chain that it was formerly supposed to be, but.....constitutes a great Alpine region extending far to the south of Lake Issyk-Kul and forming with the Pāmīr and the Himālayas the mountain centre of the whole Asiatic continent. The axis of this Tien Shan Alpine region is apparently from north-east to south-west, the elevation rising gradually to the south and east, and sinking on the side of Kashgar much more rapidly.....The main ranges run from north-east to south-west, but are cut by other

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10. E.Schuyler, Turkistan, Vol.I, London, 1876, p.54.

11. See Infra.

12. Schuyler, Tur, Vol.II, p.152.

smaller ones in a north-westerly and south-easterly direction. The centre, although not actually the highest part of the whole region, is the plateau or range of Ak-Shiiraik, in a recess of which is the great Petrof Glacier, the true source of the river Naryn.[13] There are many peaks between 14,000 and 20,000 feet high, and south-east of the eastern extremity of Issyk-Kul is the lofty mountain of Khan Tengri."[14]

To the south and east of this great arc of mountains lie the caravanserai cities, which mark the fertile rim of the great desert basin. South-west of Aqsu is Kashgar. South-east of Kashgar is Marco Polo's "Province of Yarcan"[15], modern Yarkand. To the west of Yarkand lies the great ice-clad dome of Muz Tagh Ata, 24,388 feet high[16], beyond which lie Pāmir [illegible] and the passes to Gilgit and Chitrāl as well as to the Oxus valley. To the south-east of Yarkand is Khotan[17]. Again, south of Khotan is the famous Karakoram Pass, the modern highroad to India.[18] From Khotan northward,

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13. See infra.
14. Schuyler, Tur, Vol.II, pp.132-33.
15. The Book of Sir Marco Polo, the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East, Transl. and ed. by H.Yule, Vol.I, London 1903, p.187.
16. T.H.Holdich, The Indian Borderland, London, 1901, p.302.
17. For details of the geographical position of Khotan see M.A.Stein, Ancient Khotan, Vol.I, Oxford, 1907, pp.123ff
18. For details regarding the Karakoram Pass and its adjacent regions, see H.Trotter, On the Geographical Results of the Mission to Kashgar under Sir T.Douglas Forsyth in 1873-74, J.P.R.G.S., vol.48, 1878, pp.175ff

to Aqsu along the bed of the Khotan Daryā runs the only north and south link between the north edge and the south edge of Taklamakan.[19]

We have now completed our survey of the boundaries of the Tarim basin and before proceeding with the geographical description of the important regions to the west of Tien Shan, we shall have to consider here the trade routes connecting Central Asia with China. Stein's opinions about these trade-routes may be summarised as follows:- Travelling from the west, starting from Yarkand, the southern route round the Tarim basin passes through Qarghaliq, Khotan, Niya, Charchan, the Lop Nor area, Tunhwang, Ansi to Yümen and Suchow, whereas the northern route round the basin passes through Kashgar, Aqsu, Kucha, Kurla. From Kurla this northern route bifurcates. One branch goes south-eastward round the southernmost spur of the Quruq Tagh and then crosses the ancient salt-encrusted sea-bed east of Loulan to Tunhwang and Ansi. However, since the beginning of the fourth century A.D. this route has been abandoned owing to the desiccation of the whole Loulan area. The other branch runs north-eastward to Qara Shahr, Turfan, Hami, where turning south it crosses the Pei Shan to Ansi.[20]

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19. R.C.F.Schomberg, Peaks and Plains of Central Asia, London, 1933, pp.210, 217.

20. G.J., Vol.LXV, No.5, May, 1925, pp.392-94; A.Stein, Serindia, vol.III, pp.1141-42. For routes see Stein's map of Chinese Turkistān and adjacent parts of Central Asia and Kan-su, G.J. vol.LXV.No.6, June, 1925.

Besides these two east and west routes, linking China and the West through the basin of Taklamakan there is yet a third route, that connects Kuldja and Ili with Suchow in North West Kan-su. Travelling eastward from Kuldja it passes through Manass and Urumchi. Here it bifurcates, one branch running south-east touches Turfan and the other skirting the north of Bogdo Ula leads to Barköl; and thence running south and south-east it joins the road from Hami to Ansi, Yümen and Suchow, already described.[21] Thus, this route touches the northern arm of the northern desert route, which, as has been already seen, passes through Kara Shahr, Turfan, Hami, Ansi, at two points, namely, Turfan and Hami. In other words, travelling from east to west, that is to say, from China to the west, the northern Ili route branches off from the main road to the Jade Gate and Ansi. It should be noted that this route is connected with the caravanserai cities of Taklamakan through Urumchi, Turfan, Kara Shahr and Kurla.[22]

The massive ridges of western Tien Shan with the long valley divide the Tarim basin from the valley of the Oxus and Jaxartes. Here the Syr Daryā, the Jaxartes, has its source, rising amid the high plateaus and ranges of the Tien Shan south of Issyk-Kul. In the early stages of its course, it is known as the Taragai, but after its junction

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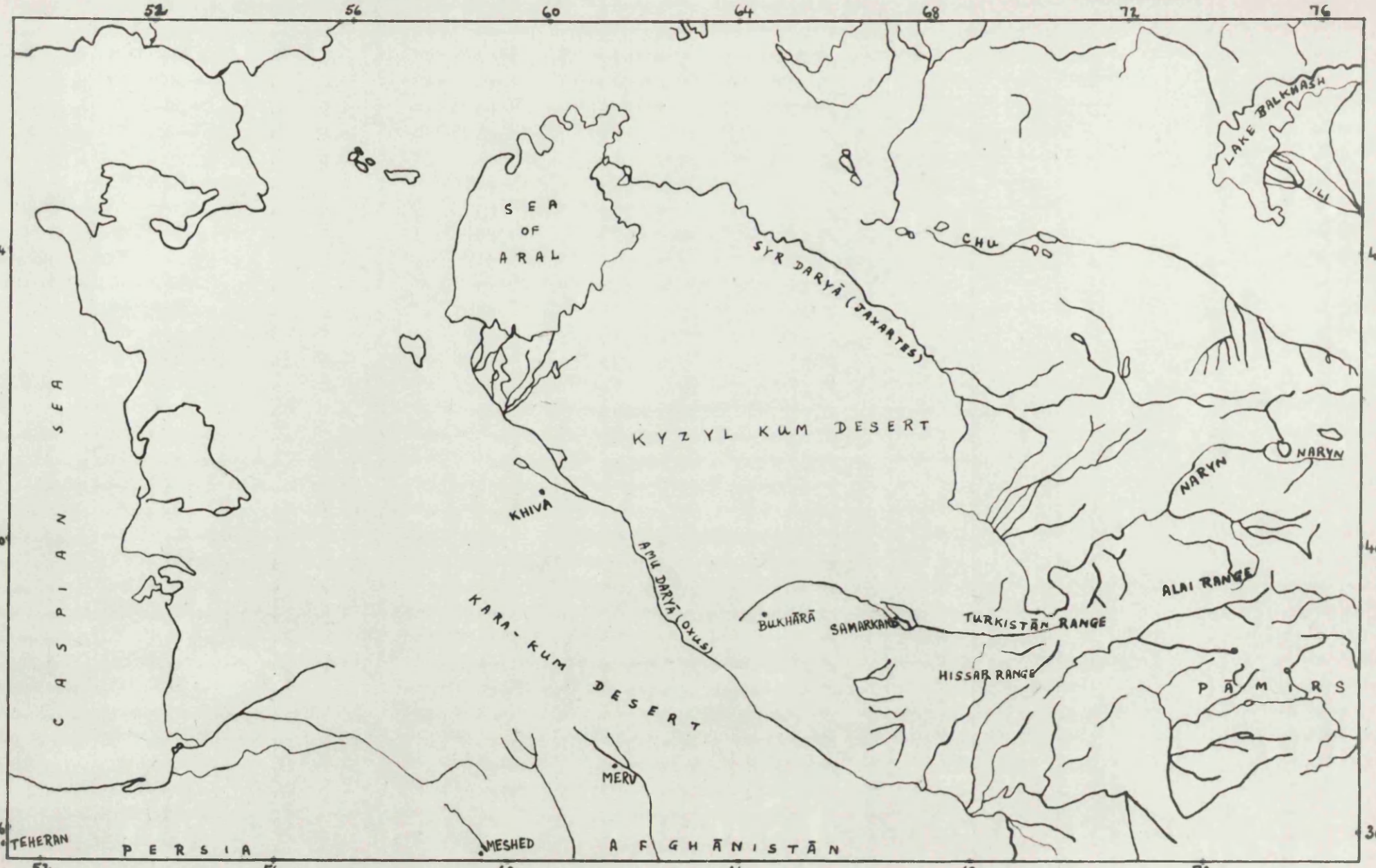
21. Richard's C. G.C.E.D., p.534.

22. Schomberg describes all these routes from his personal knowledge, see his P.P.C.A., throughout.

MAP-2



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with the Karasai and the Kurwenta, it receives the name of Naryn. The Naryn flows through mountain defiles to unite with the Kara-Kuldja River near Balyktchi, in Khokand. The Kara-Kuldja is also locally known by the name of Syr Daryā and is held to be the real Jaxartes, the Naryn being considered as only a branch of it. It is to be noted that the Kara-Kuldja rises in the Altai mountains, near the pass of Terek-Davan. However, from the junction of the Naryn and the Kara-Kuldja, the river now universally called the Syr Daryā, flows on in a south-westerly direction, until a little past the town of Hodjent, where it turns to the north and north-west. In the neighbourhood of Hodjent the river receives some small tributaries from the mountains to the south, but after that the only water which it receives, comes from the small streams rising in the Kara-tou mountains. From Fort Perovsky the course of the great river runs through level ground to the Aral Sea. During its passage it continually divides and redivides, its chief branch being called the Jany or Yany Daryā.[23]

To the south of the Syr Daryā lies the desert graphically called Kyzyl-Kum, the Red Sands. One arm of this desert extends southward along the Sea of Aral to the Buken mountains, reaching the Amu Daryā at several points near Khiva. Along the Jany Daryā the desert here and there gives place to waste steppe. Its southern side is bounded by the Famished Steppe between Tchinaz and Jizakh, and by low ranges of hills. An arm of the desert,

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23. Schuyler, Tur, Vol.I, pp.50-52.

called Jaman Kyzyl, or Bad Red Sand, reaches outward to the Amu Daryā through an opening in the mountains, extending from Montchakli to the south of Bukhārā.[24]

Bukhārā lies westward of all the cities of the Oxus-Jaxartes plain. To the north-east of it on the skirts of the hills is Samarkand. This whole region, including much of the trans-Oxus mountain country east of Samarkand, was known to the classical authors as Sogdiana.[25] Samarkand itself is of considerable antiquity, for it is the Maracanda of Alexander's Chroniclers.[26] Sogdiana, in fact, was the country to the north of the Oxus, on the south bank of which lay the rich country of Bactria, extending up to Hindu Kush.[27] Bactria, therefore, corresponds in large measure to modern Northern Afghānistān.[28] The city of Balkh lies to the north-east of Shibarghan and west of Tashqurghān.

To the south-east of Samarkand lies the mountain ranges, which are the continuations of the Alai mountains, which are themselves prolongations of the Tien Shan.[29] Richmers begins

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24. Ibid, p.68.

25. W.W.Tarn, the Greeks in Bactria and India, Cambridge, 1938, p.102.

26. A.Stein, Innermost Asia, Vol.II, Oxford, 1928, p.895.

27. T.Holdich, The Gates of India, London, 1910, p.74.

28. E.J.Rapson, The Cambridge History of India, vol.I, Cambridge, 1935, p.434.

29. Schuyler, Tur, vol.I, p.274.

his description of these ranges from their eastern point, that is to say, the Alai mountains. He says, "The Alai mountains split up into two chains called the Turkistān and Hissar ranges,[30] and within their fork the Zarafshan Glacier is situated. The Hissar range again divides soon after the Pakshif pass by sending out a northerly branch known as the Zarafshan ridge."[31]

To the south-west of Kashgar are the Pāmirs, the 'Imaos' of the classical geographers, the massive mountain boss which links the Tien Shan on the north to Hindu Kush. The Pāmir region is known as Bami-I-Dunyā, or the Roof of the World. There is every justification for calling it so, as Younghusband's description makes plain: "Approaching this interesting region from the plains of Kashgaria, one sees clearly how it has acquired the name of Bam-I-Dunyā, or Roof of the World. The Pāmir Mountains rise apparently quite suddenly out of the plain from a height of 4,000 feet above sea-level at their base to over 25,000 feet at their loftiest summits - a massive wall of rocks, snow and ice. Mounting this wall the traveller comes on to the Bam-I-Dunyā, which would perhaps be better translated as the 'Upper Storey of the world'. Houses in Turkistān are flat-roofed, and you ascend the outer wall and sit out on the roof which thus marks an upper storey, and it appears

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30. According to Morgan, the Hissar range starts from Kok-su, E.Delmar Morgan, Recent Geography of Central Asia; from Russian sources, J.P.R.G.S., suppl.papers, Vol.1, 1884, p.216.

31. W.R.Rickmers, The Duab of Turkestan, Cambridge, 1913, p.65

to me that it was in this sense that the Pāmir region was called the Roof of the world. The name, indeed, seems singularly appropriate, for once through the gorges which lead up from the plains, one enters a region of broad open valleys separated by comparatively low ranges of mountains. These valleys are known as Pāmirs - Pāmir being the term applied by the natives of those parts to a particular kind of valley. In the Hindu Kush and Himālayan region the valleys as a rule are deep, narrow and shut in. But on the Roof of the world they seem to have been choked up with the debris falling from the mountains on either side, which appeared to me to be older than those further south, and to have been longer exposed to the wearing process, in many parts, indeed, being rounded off into mere mounds.....[32]

Of the Pāmirs the Little Pāmir is generally said to end near the vicinity of the Ak-tash, a rocky protuberance, near the Neza-tash Pass. It may be noted that the valley of the Ak-su river runs wide and open through this region right down to, and for a few miles below, the junction of the Ak-baital river.[33] The Great Pāmir is situated to the north-west of the Little Pāmir. The Alichur Pāmir lies to the north of the Great Pāmir. Its eastern extremity is near Chadirtash and is separated from its western extremity near Lake Yashil-kul by a broad level valley, averaging four or

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32. F.E.Younghusband, Journeys in the Pamirs and Adjacent Countries, P.R.G.S.M.R.G., No.IV, April,1892, pp.223-24.

33. Ibid, p.226.

five miles in width. The Tagh-dum-bāsh Pāmir, the name of which signifies 'the supreme head of the mountains' is situated to the east of the Little Pāmir. At its upper extremity it bifurcates into two branches, one descending from the Wakhjir via the Kilik Pass, the other from the Khunjerab Pass.[34] The usual route from Gilgit via Hunza follows the Mintaka Pass route, avoiding the Kilik and the Wakhjir Passes and leading directly to Tagh-dum-bāsh Pāmir.

Descending from the north through the desolate Great Pāmīr, the Pāmir Daryā runs westward to meet the Wākhān. The eastern bank rises upwards to the plateau of the Wākhān mountains, which lie between the Pāmir Daryā and the Wākhān Daryā, which is the upper Oxus. At Kazar Tepe the Khargosh river flows from the pass of that name into the Pāmir Daryā.[35] About 25 kilometres from Djangalyk the waters of the Pāmir Daryā emerge into the Pandsh Daryā, the reach of the Oxus immediately below Wākhān. The upper valley of the Oxus, therefore, obviously occupies an important position in the geographical features of this area, forming the boundary between Pāmīr on the one hand and Hindu Kush on the other and providing a main east and west valley route. The waters of the Upper Oxus are clearly derived from its tributaries, the Shakhdarra, the Gund and the Murghāb rivers, as well as from the perpetual snows of of the Pāmīr region. After the Oxus leaves the mountains

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34. Ibid, p.221

35. O.Olufsen, Through the Unknown Pamirs, London,1904,p.1

of this region it runs through deserts and dry steppes till it reaches the Sea of Aral.[36]

To the south-west of the Pāmirs are the mighty Hindu Kush Mountains, which actually are a complicated massive, rather than a chain of peaks. Yate has drawn attention to a local tradition about the origin of the name of the Hindu Kush, which is, however, probably not based on historical facts. He says, "The origin of the name of Hindu Kush it is impossible to tell. There is a tradition.....that these mountains were all formerly included in the general name of Himālaya, but that, at a time while Balkh was still held by Hindus, some ancient conqueror invaded the country from the north, and all the Hindus fled for refuge into the mountains, and were there overtaken by a sudden snow-storm and killed to a man: hence the name Hindu Kush, from the Persian word 'Kushtan' to kill."[37]

An important and interesting geographical account of the whole Hindu Kush range is given in the Imperial Gazetteer of India. It says that "This great range, known to the ancient geographers as the 'Indian Caucasus' may be said to start from a point near 37°N and 74°38'E, where the Himālayan system finds its north-western termination in a mass of towering peaks, and to extend south-westwards across North-Eastern Afghānistān to about 34°30'N and 68°15'E. The first spur which it throws off to the north

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36. R.C.F.Schomberg, Between the Oxus and the Indus, London, 1935, p.11.
37. C.E.Yate, North Afghanistan, Edinburgh and London, MDCCCLXXXVIII, p.325

is from the vicinity of Tirich Mīr in the north-western corner of Chitrāl. Starting in a westerly direction, this spur takes a northward curve and then again runs westward, dividing the Oxus from the Kokcha: this may be termed the Badakshān ridge. To the east of the Khāwak pass, another spur runs north, and then sprays out north-east and north-west, separating the Kokcha drainage from that of the Kunduz: this may be called the Kokcha ridge. From the Khāwak pass a branch goes north-west towards Kunduz or Kataghān, where it ends, forming the Kunduz ridge. There is another spur, running almost parallel with this, which may be called the Khāwak ridge. A fifth spur is the Koh-i-changūr, which divides the Kunduz (or Surkhāb) from the Tashqurghān river. West of the Dorah pass a region of spurs is thrown out to the south, which forms the Kāfiristān watersheds; and west again of these a great spur divides Panjshīr from Kāfiristān. The general elevation of the Hindu Kush from its eastern extremity to the Khāwak may be taken as between 14,500 and 18,000 feet, while there are numerous peaks of between 20,000 and 25,000 feet. The range is everywhere jagged, precipitous and arid: it is destitute of trees, and there is but little grass or herbage. Above 15,000 feet snow is perpetual."[38]

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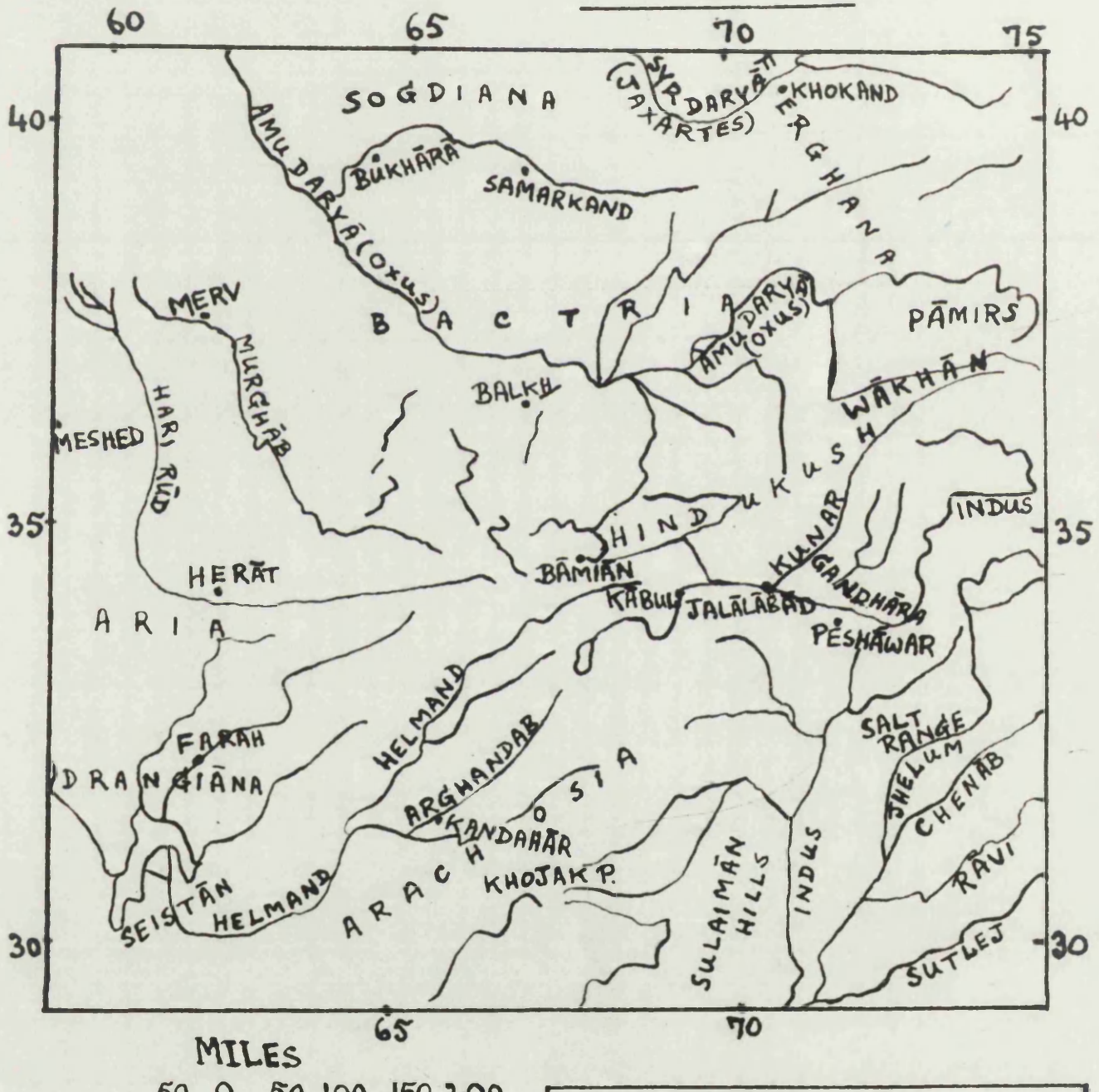
38. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.XIII, pp.136-37

MAP- 3



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AFGHĀNISTĀN
and adjacent parts of
CENTRAL ASIA and INDIA

South of Bāmiān lies the peaked scarp of Koh-i-Bāba, that starts from the western peaks of the Hindu Kush and runs in a westerly direction to the south of Yak Walang, where it breaks into three branches, namely, the Band-i-Turkistān, the Siāh Būbak or Band-i-Bāba, and the Band-i-Baiān. This last branch divides the drainage of the Hari Rūd from that of the Helmand.[39] To the south of Siāh Būbak lies the city of Herāt on the bank of the Hari Rūd river. East of Herāt the upper reaches of the Hari Rūd valley wind away into the inhospitable mountain regions of the Koh-i-Bāba.[40] To the north of Herāt the Kushk river and its affluents flow, and the former merges into the Murghāb river near Panjdeh.

The Ghorband valley, running east and west, is situated to the south of the main axis of the Hindu Kush. It and its tributary, the Panjshīr, which flows into it at an acute angle from the north-west near Charikar in the Kābul Valley, are part of the Indus system.[41] The watersheds of the Indus, Oxus and Helmand, therefore, meet in the mountains of the Kābul range north-west of the city.

In its upper course the Kābul river is joined by many small tributaries from the southern slopes of the Laghmān range. It is at first an inconsiderable stream being fordable

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39. Ibid, vol. IX, p. 28.
40. Holdich, I.M., p.171.
41. G.J., vol.CIV, Nos.1,2, p.31.

as far as Kābul city. At a short distance beyond this point, the Logar, running from the south, flows into it and, henceforward, it becomes a rushing mountain torrent. About 40 miles below Kābul city it flows into the united Ghorband and Panjshīr to which it gives its name. Running eastward towards the Indus it receives the Tagao, the united streams of Alingār and Alishang, and the Kunar from the north, the latter being known asthe Chitrāl river in its northern reaches. From the south it receives the Surkhāb from the slopes of Sikarām. Piercing the hills of the North West Frontier in the Mohmand territory near Michni fort, it divides into two branches, the Adezai on the north and the Nagūmān on the south. The Adezai or Hājizai rejoins the Nagūmān at Nisatta, after receiving the waters of the Swāt. After a course of 316 miles the Kābul river ultimately falls into the Indus above Attock.[42] In Vedic times it was known as the 'Kubhā'[43] and its lower reaches must always have provided easy access to the Peshāwar valley and the North Punjab from Kābul.

Codrington has rightly drawn attention to the fact that "History repeatedly demonstrates the extension of Indian rule to Hindu Kush and the Upper Kābul valley, and it is well known how far and how deep the commercial

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42. I.G.I., vol.XIV, pp.246-47.

43. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, ed. by S.N. Majumdar Sastri, Calcutta, 1924, p.43.

interests of Hindu merchants have gone in Central Asia. The Mauryans ruled in the Kābul valley, as well as the Indo-Bactrian kings and the Kushāns, and the well-founded Shāhī Brāhmin dynasty, which endured up to the coming of Islam. Again, repeatedly under Muslim rulers, including the Mughals, the Kābul valley was politically part of India proper. That is to say, that at all those periods Hindu Kush was the political boundary of India."[44.]

To the south-east of the city of Kābul lie the Safed Koh mountains "This chain, (that is, the Safed Koh) reaching in its highest summit, Sikarām, a height of 15,620 feet, divides the valley of Jalālābād from the Kurram river and the Afrīdi Tirāh; among its northern and eastern spurs are those formidable passes, between Kābul and Jalālābād, which witnessed the disasters of 1841-2, and the famous Khyber Pass between Jalālābād and Peshāwar. An offshoot southwards terminates in a plateau consisting of the Pasin Dāg and Toba. This chain divides Afghānistān from the Indus valley."[45.]

The basin of the Helmand river is divided from that of the Kābul by the Paghmān range, an offshoot of Hindu Kush. The Helmand flows south-westward into the depressed basin of Seistān, which lies to the east of the Irānian

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44. G.J., vol.CIV, Nos.1, 2, 1944, p.36.

45. I.G.I., vol.V, pp.28-29.

plateau. There it divides into many channels forming, as it were, the land locked basin, the waters of which are lost by evaporation, for there is no opening to the sea.[46] Hiuen-Tsiang mentions the valley of the Lo-mo-in-tu river, which has been identified by Cunningham as the Helmand.[47] To the south of Kābul Ghazni is situated and again to the south-west of Ghazni is the city of Kandahār. The main road from Kābul to Kandahār runs through Ghazni and connects with the northern Kandahār road to Herāt. This ancient and important main road leaves Seistān to the south.

It is important to note that various parts of modern Afghānistān are mentioned by ancient geographers. It is generally suggested that the Chinese early name for Kābul was Kao-fu but Cunningham is of the opinion that the Kaofu of the Chinese embraced the whole of modern Afghānistān.[48] Hiuen-Tsiang mentions the names of Ho-phi-na,[49] which probably represents Kophene, or Ki-pin, the country on the Kābul river, and also of Po-li-shi-sa-tang-na or

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46. Rapson, C.H.I., p.28.

47. C.A.G.I., p.45.

48. Ibid, p.20.

49. The existence of Opian as a suburb of Charikar in the Kābul valley should also be borne in mind.

Urddhasthāna, which represents Ortostana, the actual capital of the province.[50] But great doubt has been expressed as to the correctness of these identifications. At the time of the Han Dynasty Ki-pin certainly meant Gandhāra, including Taxila and Takht-i-Bāhī,[51] that is, the country on both sides of the Indus. To the Greek geographers the territories round Kandahār, Kābul and Herāt were known as Arachosia, Paropanisadae and Aria,[52] respectively.[53] The Chinese Tsau-ku-ta corresponds exactly with the Arachosia of the classical writers.[54] Tarn following Strabo's spelling writes Paropanisadae as Paropamisadae.[55] According to him, this country in the second century B.C. comprised "The valleys of the Panjshīr and Ghorband rivers under the Hindu Kush, some parts of Kāfiristān, and also Laghmān, Kābulistān and the country about the Kābul (Kophen) river to the frontier town towards Gandhāra, Ptolemy's Nagara-Dionysopolis, represented to-day by Jalālābād."[56] "The

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50. J.A.G.I., p.40.

51. Ibid, pp.672-73; V.A.Smith, The Early History of India, 4th ed., Oxford, 1924, p.266, f.n.1; for Codrington's view, see infra, Chapter II.

52. Cf. H.W.Bellew, Afghanistan and the Afghans, London, 1879, p.202.

53. Rapson, C.H.I. p.431, For the Avestan and Old-Persian names of different parts of Afghānistān, see The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed.by M.Th.Houtsma, T.W.Arnold, R.Basset and R.Hartmann, Vol.I,London,Leyden,1913,p.158

54. C.A.G.I. pp.44,46.

55. Tarn, G.B.I., p.95, f.n.5.

56. Ibid, p.96.

capital of this country and gateway of India was the double city Alexandria-Kāpisā.[57] Tarn is of the opinion that Ptolemy's Nagara-Dionysopolis is represented to-day by Jalālābād but there does not seem to be any proof that Jalālābād is an ancient city. In Greek times modern Seistān was known as Drangiāna. Later the basin of the Helmand came to be known as Sakasthāna or the abode of the Sakas,[58] the modern Seistān.

Immediately to the north of the city of Peshāwar lies Charsada. It is interesting to note that at the time of the great Kushān king Kanishka I, Peshāwar or Purusha-pura seems to have been the Kushān capital.[59] Fa-Hien first mentions the name of this great city as Fo-lau-sha.[60] It is, also, mentioned by Sung-Yun in the sixth century A.D. though not by its name. His description of the great stūpa of King Ka-ni-si-ki (Kanishka I), however, establishes the identity of the site.[61] Again, in the seventh century A.D. Hiuen-Tsiang calls it Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo, which is Parashāwara.[62]

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57. Ibid, p.97.
58. Rapson, C.H.I., p.564.
59. Smith, E.H.I., p.276; C.I.I. p.lxxviii
60. Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, transl.by Samuel Beal, London, 1869, p.34.
61. Ibid. p.202.
62. C.A.G.I., p.90.

During the first centuries of the Christian era the great object of veneration at Purushāwar was the begging pot of the Buddha. Another famous centre of worship was the sacred Pipal tree to the south-east of the city. According to tradition this true, which was over 100 feet in height with wide spreading branches, had formerly given shade to Śākya Buddha when he predicted the future appear-ance of the great King Kanishka I. The Chinese travellers, Fa-Hien, Sung-Yun and others,[63] all notice the great stūpa of Kanishka I, which stood close to the holy tree on its southern side. Hiuen-Tsiang describes it as 400 feet in height and one and half a li in circumference.[64] It contain-ed relics of the Buddha. The Si-Yu-Ki, also, says that Kanishka built a saṅghārāma to the west of the stūpa.[65] It became famous among the Buddhists being associated with certain great Buddhist teachers including Pārśva and others. This monastery is apparently the "Kanik-Citya" of Alberuni, the "Vihāra of Purushāvar" built by King Kanik.[66]

It is to be noted that the ancient name Parashāwar was changed into its present form, Peshāwar or the 'frontier

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63. T.F.S., pp.35ff, 202; Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, transl. by S.Beal (in two volumes) London 1884, vol.I, Bk.II, pp.99ff.
64. The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by Shaman Hwui Li: by S.Beal London, 1911, Bk.II, p.63; see also A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms being an account by the Chinese Monk Fa-hien of his travels in India and Ceylon, transl. by J.Legge, Oxford, 1886, p.34.
65. Si-Yu-Ki, Vol.I, Bk.II, pp.103 ff.
66. Alberuni's India, ed. by E.C.Sachau, Vol.II, London, 1888, p.11.

town' by the great Mughal Emperor Akbar. Abul Fazl in his Ain i Akbari gives both names.[67]

Charsada, the ancient Pushkalāvatī, is famous as an archaeological site.[68] Further to the north of Charsada the Swāt river flows down from the mountains bordering Chitrāl and Chilās. It is "Formed by the junction at Kalān in the Swāt Kohistān of the Gabral and Ushu. The former rises to the east of the Badugai pass, and the latter comes down from the higher hills of Bashkār to the north. From Kalān the Swāt river flows almost due south for about 68 miles, but at Manglaur turns abruptly to the south-west and west for 24 miles, until it is joined by the Panjkora. The united waters then sweep in a great curve south-westwards to Abāzai in Peshāwar District, where they emerge to the north of the Mohmand hills into the Peshāwar valley. Here the river spreads south-east in several streams over the plain, joining the Kābul river at Nisatta after a total course of about 400 miles."[69] The Swāt river was known to the ancients being mentioned in the Rigveda as the Suvāstu.[70] The Greeks knew it as the Souastos or Souastini.[71] The Swāt

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67. C.A.G.I. p.91.

68. For the report regarding its excavation, see A.S.I., A.R., 1902-03, pp.141 ff.

69. I.G.I. vol.XXIII, p.187.

70. cf. A.A.Macdonell and A.B.Keith, Vedic Index of Names and Subjects (2 vol.) London, 1912, vol.II, p.460.

71. I.G.I., vol.XXIII, p.187.

valley, along with its adjoining territories, are known as Udayana in the classical texts from the Mahābhārata downwards. Stein has pointed out the total absence of topographical or historical data for this region. However, we do find references to Udayana in the writings of the Chinese travellers such as Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang.[72.] The Panjkora river, which, as has already been seen, joins the Swāt river, is also mentioned in Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṁhitā as the Guruhā or Garuhā.[73.]

To the north of modern Peshāwar District the vast tangle of mountains and valleys between this district and Hindu Kush now form the Political Agencies of Dīr, Swāt, and Chitrāl. "Of these territories Chitrāl, the most northern, is a region of deep valleys and lofty ranges, for the most part bare and treeless. Further south lie the thickly wooded hills of Dīr and Bājaur, and the fertile valleys of the Panjkora and Swāt rivers."[74.] Hindu Kush and the two subsidiary ranges, which run southward from it, enclose Dīr, Swāt and Chitrāl, the whole intervening space being filled by minor ranges and the valleys between them. From Dīr the Lawarai Pass at the head of the Panjkora river leads into the valley of the Chitrāl river, and so via Qila Drosh to Chitrāl town.

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72. Stein, Ser, vol. I, pp. 2, 55ff.
73. Brihat Samhitā, transl. by N.C. Iyer, Madura, 1884, part I, xiv, 23, p.85; cf. Stein, Ser, Vol.I, p.2. f.n.1.
74. I.G.I. vol. XIX, p.139.

It is interesting to note that the territory of Gandhāra, according to Codrington, "Consisted of the lower Kābul valley between the Choaspes (Kunar) and the Indus", that is to say, the Jalālābād valley and the Peshāwar plain, including the hill tracts lying in between, as far as Bājaur, through which the early trade routes ran to India."[75] Strabo correctly describes it under the name of Gandaritis[76] as lying along the river Kophes, between the Choaspes and the Indus. "In the same position Ptolemy places the Gandarōe whose country included both banks of the Kophes immediately above its junction with the Indus. This is the Kien-to-lo or Gandhāra of all the Chinese pilgrims, who are unanimous in placing it to the west of the Indus."[77] Regarding the boundaries of Gandhāra, Cunningham says that there are "Laughān and Jalālābād on the west, the hills of Swāt and Bunir on the north, the Indus on the east, and the hills of Kalabagh on the south."[78] Gandhāra is an ancient name. It is referred to frequently in the Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit works as containing the two royal cities of Takshasílā and Pushkalāvatī, the

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75. G.J., vol.CIV, Nos.1,2,p.38.

76. The Geography of Strabo, Bohn's Classical Library, ed. by H.C.Hamilton and W.Falconer (in three volumes) London, MDCCCLIV, MDCCCLVI and MDCCCLVII, vol.III, p.89.

77. C.A.G.I., p.55.

78. Ibid, p.56; cf. McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, ed. by S.N.Majumdar Sastri, Calcutta, 1927, p.116.

former situated to the East and the latter to the west of the Indus, which flows through the middle of it. It would, therefore, appear that in early times the territory of Gandhāra lay on both sides of that river, though in subsequent times it was confined to the western side.[79] Gandhāra, during the Kushān period, becomes of great archaeological importance as the centre of Romano-Buddhist sculpture, which was for many years miscalled Graeco-Buddhist.[80]

It is to be noted that the oldest capital of Gandhāra was Pushkalāvatī. During the reign of Kanishka I, the capital was transferred to Purushapura or modern Peshāwar, which, as has already been seen, was famous for its monastery and Stūpa.[81] Alberuni, however, mentions Waihand (Ohind) as the capital of Kandhar, that is, Gandhāra.[82] Pushkalāvatī is said to have been founded by Pushkara, the son of Bharata, and the nephew of Rāma.[83] As to its Greek name Cunningham says "The Greek name of Peukelaotis or Peucolaïtes, was immediately derived from Pukkalaoti, which is the Pāli or spoken form of the Sanskrit Pushkalāvatī. It is also called Peukelas by Arrian", who describes it as being of great size and not far from the Indus.[84][85]

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79. C.A.G.I., p.675.
80. See Infra, Chapter - Kushān Art and Culture.
81. A.S.I., A.R., 1902-03, p.143.
82. Sachau, A.I., p.206. There is no connection between Kandahar and Gandhāra.
83. C.A.G.I., p.676. For Pushkalāvatī, see M.A.I.P. pp.115-7 and regarding its trade, see the Periplus of the Erythrāian Sea, transl.by W.H.Schoff, London, Bombay, Calcutta, 1912, pp.41-42.
84. C.A.G.I. p.57.
85. Arrian, Indika, i, as quoted by J.W.McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Calcutta, 1926, p.184.

The vast tract of land we have so far discussed is plentifully intersected with numerous routes running in different directions. The routes that run round the Tarim basin have already been described. As to the early lines of communication between the Oxus region, that is Bactria and Sogdiana, and the Tarim basin, Stein has drawn our attention to two main routes, one southern and the other northern. The former leads from Badakshān up the open valley of Wākhān to the head of the true main feeder of the Oxus. Then it crosses either by the Wakhjir Pass or the passes approached over the Little Pāmir into Sariqol, south of Muz Tagh Ata. From Tash Qurghān different tracks through the main chain of the great range lead down to the foothills on the side of the Tarim basin and so on to Kashgar and Yarkand. The latter, which is by far the more important, from the point of view of trade, starts from Bactra, that is, modern Balkh and ascends the Qizil Su or Surkh Āb to the valley of the Alai. Thence it crosses the saddle above Irkeshtam to the headwaters of the Kashgar river and thus down to the Oasis.[86] It is to be noted that Balkh was also linked with Merv and from Merv the road ran west southwest reaching ultimately the borders of the Roman Empire.[87] Silk was brought from North-West China by land by means of these various routes linking the peripheral cities of the Taklamakan desert with Balkh and Merv. Again, India could be reached from Balkh by crossing the Hindu Kush range and then proceeding via the Upper Kābul valley to Kābul and so down into the Peshāwar plain.

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86. G.J. Vol. LXV, 1925, pp.381-82.

87. G.F.Hudson, Europe and China, London, 1931, p.78; E.H.Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, Cambridge, 1928, p.23.

To the south of this complex of Central Asian routes, there are numerous routes that connect India with modern Afghānistān, Irān and Mesopotamia. The ancient trade-routes ran from Baghdad, via Isfahan or Shiraz to Kerman and Kandahār from where numerous passes provided easy access to the Indus, of which the Bolān Pass was the easiest and best-organised high-road to India. The northern Irānian route, the ancient Royal Road, from Teheran to Meshed, continued to India via Farah and Kandahār, so turning the gates of Hindu Kush and joining up with the southern Kerman route. The Gedrosian road ran, as it does to-day, through the Quetta valley and the Bolān Pass to the cities of the lower Indus and Multān. Two other groups of routes fork eastward from Kandahār, the one centred upon the Gumal leading to the markets of Dera Ismail Khān, the second upon the Tochi leading to Bannu, the site of the ancient Akra, and so to the markets north of the Salt Range.[88]

Codrington goes on to say, "Kandahār is separated from the Quetta plateau and the Bolān by the Khojak ravine. The Kandahār - Ghazni - Kābul road is open. Moreover, between Charikar and Parwān the Ghorband is bridgeable. From Charikar the Indian road follows the left bank of the united Ghorband-Panjshīr straight to Jalālābād. At Begrām there is a ferry, guarded by the ruined forts where Hackin found his treasure, and a little lower down there is one of several low-water fords. Thus at the Charikar bridgehead two main systems of communication unite, the dramatically direct routes from the Oxus Royal Road, via the high passes of Hindu Kush, and the roundabout, lowlevel, open road, via, Farah, Kandahār and Ghazni.

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88. G.J, Vol. CIV. Nos. 3,4,1944, p.73.

Beyond Jalālābād a choice of easy passes leads through Bajaur to the Peshāwar plain and its ancient cities, of which Pushkalāvatī, the Peukelaotis of the Greeks, modern Charsada, was the most important. This was the route adopted by Alexander for his main body. Its popularity survived until Mughal times, but it is noteworthy that the existence of Greaco-Buddhist remains, in the Khyber indicates a fair antiquity for that route also".[89]

While considering these different routes, it should be noted that the historians seem to be mesmerized by the historic routes such as the Khyber, the Bolān, the Khāwak group that links Badakshān with Kābul across the Hindu Kush, the traditional Silk route, as if, they were established of necessity without alternatives. On the contrary, the Hindu Kush, the Koh-i-Bāba, the Sulaimān hills and, indeed, the whole region are plentifully supplied with various tracks.

Various travellers have recorded their travels over this vast region at different periods. In the fifth century Fa-Hien passed through Tunhwang, the Lop desert and Shen-shen,[90] the Charchen of Marco Polo. He then turned to the northwest to Cara Shahr. From here he proceeded southwest to Khotan following perhaps the course of the Tarim and the Khotan rivers. This route, which is given by Beal in his translation of Si-Yu-Ki, entails crossing the desert basin twice. This indicates that there were other transverse routes we do not know of. He then probably proceeded to the district of Yarkand.[91]

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89. Ibid, pp.74-75.
90. Stein spells it as Shanshan and identifies it with Charkhlik, G.J., vol. LXV, No.5. May, 1925, p.384.
91. Si-Yu-Ki, Vol. I. p.XXVII.

From there he passed on to India and reached the western bank of the Upper Indus. Still proceeding southwest he entered the Kingdom of Udayana by crossing the Indus or probably the Swāt river.[92]

Hiuen-Tsiang in the seventh century passed through Yümen and then took the high road, which connects Ansi with Hami across the Pei Shan, or one of the parallel roads.[93] He then passed across Turfan, Qara Shahr, Kucha, Aqsu and, travelling in a northwesterly direction, reached Issyk-Kul and modern Tokmak on the Chu river. To the west of Tokmak he entered the district, known by the name of Ming Bulak, The Thousand Springs, where he met the Khān of the Turks and received a passport from him,[94] and then turned in a south-westerly direction, traversing the basins of the rivers Jaxartes, Zarafshan and Oxus on his way to India. On crossing the Oxus he reached Kundūz and made an excursion to Balkh and then resumed his journey to India. He passed through the valley of Gaz and made his way in a direction east of south to the Hindu Kush Range and so arrived at Bāmiān probably via the Dandan Shikar Pass. Smith says that, turning eastwards, he then entered the Ghorband valley, but the ancient route seems to have debouched at Kābul via the Helmand valley and the Unai Pass. Passing down the valley of the Panjshīr river and crossing Siyah Koh, he entered Lamghān. He then marched down the Kābul river until he reached India proper.[95]

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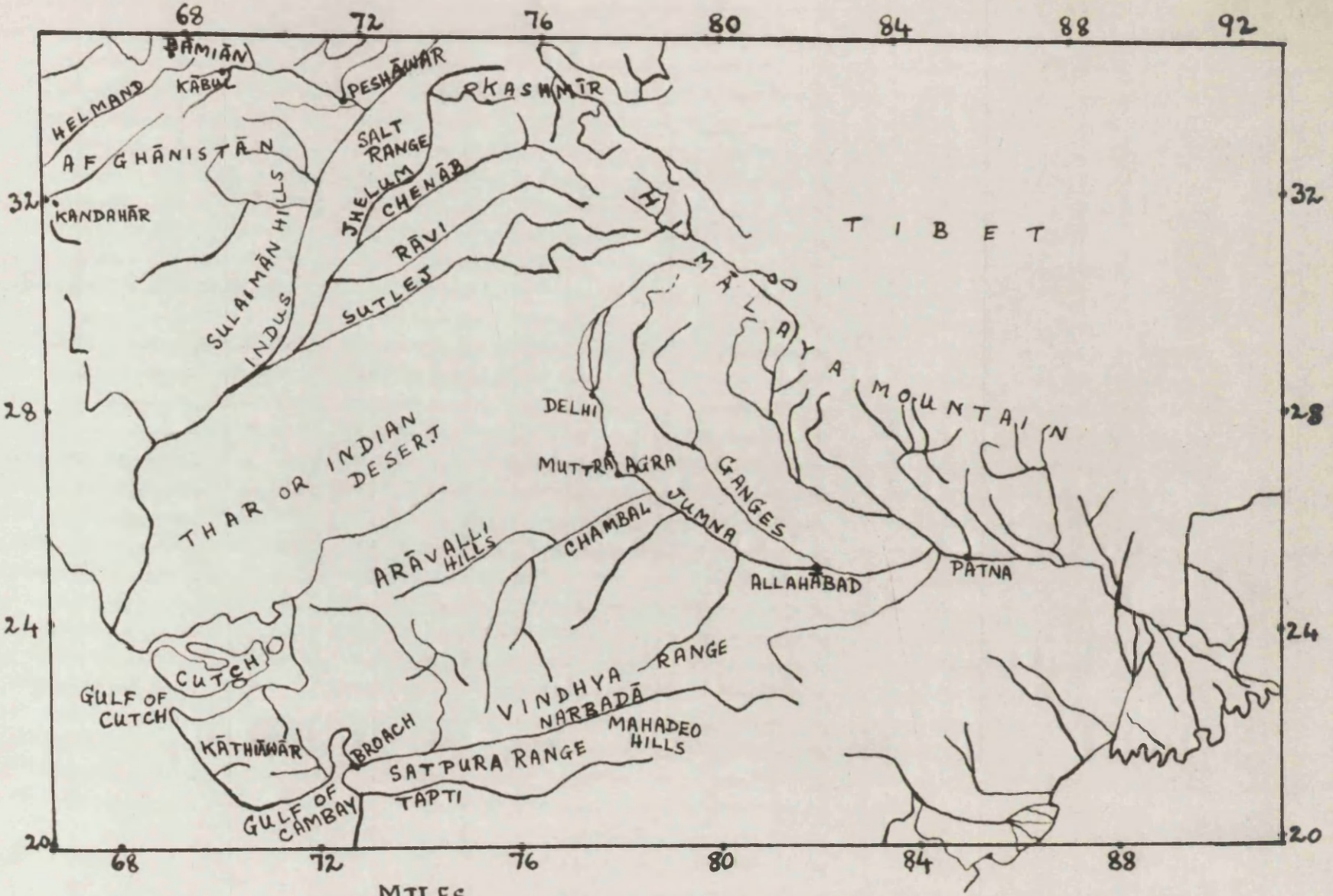
92. Ibid, pp. XII- XV.
93. Stein, Ser, Vol. III, pp.1142-43.
94. On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (2 vol), transl. by T. Watters, London, 1904-05, Vol. I, pp.74-5.
95. For details, see Watters, Y.C.T.I. Vol. II, pp.330-35

MAP- 4



NORTHERN and CENTRAL INDIA

On his return journey Hiuen-Tsiang arrived in the Kābul valley. He then crossed Hindu Kush probably by the Khāwak Pass. He advanced to Kunduz and moved in an easterly direction passing through Badakshān, Wākhān and the Taghdumbāsh Pāmirs. Ultimately he emerged in the plain of Kashgar by traversing the western flank of Mus Tagh Ata. From Kashgar, he followed the road that passed through Yarkand, Khotan, Niya, Lop Nor area and Ansi.[96]

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo, the greatest of European mediaeval travellers, on his way from Persia to Kublai's court with his father and uncle, traversed the upper Oxus valley and crossed the Pāmirs into the Tarim basin. From there he, too, travelled by the southern caravan road between the desert and the Kunlun to the south of Lop Nor and so on to Tunhwang.[97]

Returning to Peshāwar at the mouth of the Khyber, the Mohmand hills lie to the northwest of the city. To the south of Peshāwar is situated the present district of Kohāt. To the south of Kohāt lies the district of Bannu. To the west of Bannu and south of Kurram lies Waziristān, a confused mass of hills intersected on the north by the Tochi valley and on the south by the gorges that descend to the Wāna plain. To the south of this area the Wazīri hills merge into the Sulaimān range, the highest point of which is the famous Takht-i-Sulaimān in the lower Shirāni country.[98]

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96. Ibid, pp.342244. It would seem that in spite of the erratic movements of Lop Nor and the desiccation of the southern route, it never entirely ceased to be used. It is, indeed, the shortest route to China.
97. G.J., Vol. LXV. no.6. 1925. p.496.
98. I.G.I, Vol. XIX. pp.139-40.

The Indus river forms the eastern border of the District of Dera Ismail Khān of the North-West Frontier Province. It rises from the north side of the Kailās mountain. Issuing from the ring of lofty mountains about Lake Mānassrower, it flows north-west under the name of Singh-Ka-Bāb until it receives the Ghar river. A short distance below the junction of t e Ghar, it enters the south-eastern corner of Kashmīr. It still flows north-by-west and here receives the waters of the Shyok river. The Zāskār river merges into it near Leh. Following a north-westerly course it enters Baltistān near Skārdu and reaches the Haramosh mountain. By taking a southward turn at an acute angle it enters Kohistān in the Dīr Swāt and Chitrāl Agency near Gur. Then it flows south-west and enters the North-West frontier Province near Darband, at the western base of the Mahōbān mountain. Almost opposite Attock it receives the Kābul river and then continues southward. Twelve miles below Attock the Harroh flows into it and at Makhad the Sohān, also, joins it.[99] Just above Mithankot, in the south of Dera Ghāsi Khān District, the Indus receives the accumulated waters of the Punjab. Between the Indus and the Jumna flow the five great rivers, which give the country its name, namely, the Jhelum, the Chennāb, the Rāvi, the Beās and the Sutlej. "After various junctions these unite to form the 'Panjnad' river, literally 'the five streams', which ..... unites with Indus near Mithankot, about 490 miles from the sea".[100] The Indus, popularly known as the 'Sindhu', ultimately flows into the Arabian Sea.

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99. Ibid, Vol. XIII. pp.358-59.

100. Ibid, p.360.

To the east of modern Peshāwar District beyond the Indus and the Hazara District lies Kashmīr. The north-eastern section of Kashmīr lies between the great central chain on the south and the Karakoram range and its continuation on the north. It is drained by the Indus and its great tributaries, the Shyok, the Zāskār, the Suru, and the Gilgit rivers. Broadly speaking, the Karakoram range is a continuation of the Hindu Kush, and forms the watershed between the Central Asian drainage and the streams flowing into the Indian Ocean. From its main ridge loftly spurs extend into Kashmīr separating the various tributaries of the Indus. It is a stupendous mountain mass culminating on the west in the well-known Rakaposhi mountain, north of Gilgit. This great mountain barrier is broken through by the Hunza stream, one of the main feeders of the Gilgit river.[101] As has been pointed out, the Kunar river joins the Kābul river near Jalālābād. Its middle reach is occupied by the rich Chitrāl valley, above which lies Mastuj. Into this long and often rugged valley, two sets of passes lead from Afghān Turkistān. The Darkot and Baroghil Passes lead from the Mastuj valley into Wākhān, while the Dora Pass leads from Chitrāl to Jura and the Kokcha Valley. It should be noted that the route from Central Asia to India via Gilgit continued through Kashmīr and not through Chitrāl.

The south-western parts of Kashmīr territory includes the country drained by the Jhelum with its tributary the Kishanganga, and by the Chenāb. It is interesting to note that the great central mountain range, which runs from Nanga Parbat, overshadowing the Indus to the northwest, in a south-easterly direction for about 240 miles forms a distinct dividing line or water-shed.

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101. Ibid, Vol. XV, pp. 83-84

South-western Kashmīr may be geographically divided into three sections, namely, the region of the outer hills, the middle mountains, and the Kashmīr valley itself.[102] Approaching Kashmīr from the plains of the Punjab, a region of broken ground and low hills is reached that run parallel to the general line of the Himālayan chain. In between these parallel ridges lie a series of corresponding valleys. The Pir Panjāl range forms the southern boundary of the Kashmīr valley and continues eastward beyond the Chenāb. The portion lying between the Jhelum and the Chenāb is formed by the mass of mountainous spurs running from the Pir Panjāl range. The Pir Panjāl itself is a massive mountain range, which extends from Muzaffarābād on the Jhelum to near Kishtwār on the Chenāb river. Its highest points rise to 14,000 and 15,000 feet. To the east of the Chenāb river, also, rises a similar mass of hills with peaks varying from 9,000 to 14,000 feet in height. These culminate in the high range, which forms the Chamba and Rāvi watershed. The third section of the south-western area of Kashmīr, the vale of Kashmīr itself, bears a unique character in the Himālayas consisting of an open valley completely surrounded by mountains. To the north-east the great central range, which separates the Jhelum and the Indus drainage, forms the boundary and on the south, as already described, stands the Pir Panjāl range. The eastern boundary is formed by a high spur of the main range and forms the watershed between the Jhelum and Chenāb. On the north and west the valley is bound by other ranges.[103]

From Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī we learn that several Kushān Kings built towns in Kashmīr. It states that "Then there were in this land three kings called Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, who built three towns named after them (Hushkapura, Jushkapura, Kanishkapura)".[104]

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102. Ibid, p.81.
103. Ibid, pp.81-82, for details see Ibid, pp.82-83.
104. Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, transl. by M.A.Stein, Westminster, vol.I, Book I, 168, p.30. For the identification of the Kings, see Infra, Chapter II.

It is interesting to note that Hushkapura is near Varāha or Varāhamula, the Sanskrit form of Baramula. Hiuen-Tsiang mentions Ho-se-kia-lo or Hushkara, where he stayed for a night. Hushkara, is, also, sometimes called Uskar, which still exists as a village on the left or eastern bank of the Behat, two miles to the south-east of Baramula.[106] Jushkapura has been identified with Zukru or Zukur, which is still a considerable village, 4 miles to the north of Srinagar.[107] Kanishkapura is, also, called Kanikhpur or Kempur and is situated 10 miles to the south of Srinagar on the high-road leading to the Pir Panchāl Pass.[108] It still exists as a small village.

In the early history of India it is clear that the country of Takshasilā or Taxila occupied an important position. Cunningham states that to the north of the country lies Urasā, to the east the Jhelum, to the south Sinhapur and to the west the Indus.[109] We learn from the Mahābhārata that the name Takshasilā is generally connected with Takshaka, King of the Nāgas, who killed Parikshit. Janamejaya invaded Takshasilā and conquered it.[110] The descendants of Takshaka are known as the Takkas, who held all the country round about.[111] The name has been interpreted as signifying 'Hewn Rock'.[112]

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105. C.A.G.I. p.104.
106. Ibid, pp.105, 115-16.
107. Ibid, p.116.
108. Ibid, p.114.
109. Ibid. p.681.
110. The Mahābhārata, transl. by P.C.Roy, Calcutta, 1884, Adi Parva, Sections III, XL-XLIV, XLIX,L, pp.44ff, 121ff, 140ff, 143ff.
111. Cunningham's Reports on the A.S.I. in 23 vols. Vol.II page 6.
112. C.A.G.I., p.680.

It is interesting to note that the city of Takshaśilā or Taxila, which was famous in the Kushān period, has been referred to by many foreign writers. Pliny states that it was 60 Roman miles from Peucolaites and situated on a low but level plain in a district called Amenda.[113] Arrian describes it as the greatest of all the cities between the river Indus and the Hydaspes.[114] Strabo declares it to be a thickly peopled and extremely fertile territory.[115] Fa-Hien calls it Tchu-sha-si-lo or the severed head because of the fact that the Buddha in this place gave his head in charity.[116] According to Hiuen-Tsiang, the city was about 10 li in circuit. He further adds that 12 or 13 li north of it was the stūpa, that marked the spot of Buddha's alms-gift of his head or a thousand heads in so many births.[117] In the subsequent periods there is no reference to the city, which obviously indicates that it was abandoned. Among the Muhammadan writers Alberuni identifies Takshaśilā with Mārikala.[118].

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113. The Natural History of Pliny, transl. by J.Bostock, and H.T.Riley (in 6 volumes), London, MDCCCLV- MDCCCLVII, Vol. II, Bk.VI, ch.21,23, pp.41,49.
114. Arrian, J.W. McCrindle's "The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great", Westminster, MDCCCXCVI, p.83.
115. G.S., Vol. III. p.90, cf. Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, transl. by J.W.McCrindle, Westminster, 1901, p.34.
116. T.F.S., p.32.
117. Watters, Y.C.T.I, vol. I, pp.240, 244.
118. Sachau, A.I., Vol. I, ch. 29, p.302.

Cunningham identifies the city with the ruins near Shāh-Dherī,[119] which lies 12 miles north-west of Rāwalpindi, which has recently been excavated.[120] It is to be noted that 200 li south-east from the north of the country of Takshasīlā lies the famous Mānikyāla stūpa[121] standing beside the great east and west trunk road leading to Mathurā and the Ganges valley.

To the south of Kashmīr lies the modern Punjab, divided from Kashmīr and the North-West Frontier Province by the Himālayan foothills and the Salt Range. The north-east of the Province is formed of a section of the Himālayas stretching beyond the great central ranges so as to include the Tibetan cantons of Lāhul and Spiti. The Salt Range, which lies to the west between it and the Indus, forms its north-eastern angle. The Sulaimān Range forms the southern half of the western frontier of the Province. A few insignificant outliers of the Arāvalli system traverse Gurgeon District in the extreme south-east terminating in the historic Ridge at Delhi.[122]

Apart from the Indus river, which has already been discussed, the province is demarcated by the five great rivers, which give it its name. The Jhelum enters the Punjab east of the Salt Range, flowing south between this and the Pabbi hills, which terminate at Mong Rasūl. Thence the river flows west and then south until it is joined by the Chenāb near Jhang. The Chenāb rises in the Himālayan canton of Lāhul within the Province, and after traversing the Chamba State and the Jammu province of Kashmīr debouches on the plains east of the Jhelum into which it falls about 225 miles from the hills. The Rāvi,

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119. cf. A. Stein, Archaeological Reconnaissance in the North-Western India and South-eastern Iran, London, 1937, p.11.
120. A.S.I., A.R., 1912-13, pp.1ff; 1915-16, pp.1ff; for details of the ruins of Taxila, see John Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, Delhi, 1936. p.1ff.
121. Watters, Y.C.T.I., Vol. I, p.255.
122. I.G.I, vol. XX, p.247.

rising in Chamba, reaches the plain below Dalhousie, and joins the combined waters of the Jhelum and Chenāb 30 miles south of Jhang. The united streams of these three rivers form the Trimāb. The Beās, rising on the south of the Rhotang pass on the northern side of the Central Himālayas to the Rāvi, traverses the Kulū valley southward, and then bends suddenly west-ward, through Mandī State and the Kāngra District. It then turns the northern flank of the Siwāliks, and enters the plains within a few miles of the Rāvi. Thence its course is more southerly, and it falls into the Sutlej about 70 miles from the foothills. The Sutlej, rising near the source of the Indus in Tibet, enters the province near the Shipki Pass, traverses Bashahr and other States of the Simla Hills, and pierces the Siwāliks near Rūpar. Thence it runs almost due west to its junction with the Beas near Sobroon, where it takes a more southerly course for 270 miles and eventually falls into the Trimāb 9 miles north of Uch. Below this confluence the waters of the Jhelum, Chenāb, Rāvi, Sutlej and Beās form the Panjnad, or five rivers, which falls into the Indus at Mithankot.[123]

All these rivers have been mentioned by early geographers. Ptolemy's Bidaspēs, which is the Hydaspes of other classical writers, is now known as the Jhelum, a name which is probably derived from Jalam, that is, water. It was also, known as Vitasta (the Vitasthā or Vitasthānā of Vedic literature).[124] Ptolemy mentions the Sandabal (Sandabaga ?) which stands for the Chandrabhāgā, that is, modern Chenāb. In vedic literature it is known as Asiknī, which means black,[125] whereas in classical literature it is called Akesines.[126]

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123. Ibid.
124. M.A.I.P., pp.89, 357.
125. cf. H.C. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, Calcutta, 1932, pp.50-51.
126. M.A.I.P., pp.89-90, 357.

The Adris or Rhoandis is the Irāvatī, which was known in the Vedic age as Parushnī; this river is modern Rāvi.[127] The Hibasis is the Vipāśā, which appears as Vipāṭ in Vedic literature; this is the Beās.[128] The Zaradros is the Sutlej. The Vedic form of its name is Śutudrī. The later forms are Śitadru, Śatudrī and Śatadru, the last being the common form in the later literature.[129]

To the extreme southwest of the Punjab lies Sind, and the Rājputānā desert forming its southern border. The Arāvalli Hills, in which Mount Abu lies, run north-east and south-west across modern Rājputāna. The Mukandwāra range runs across the southwestern districts of Kotah, from the Chambal to beyond Jhālra-pātan. The largest river of Rājputāna is the Chambal. Its principal tributaries are the Kālī-Sind, the Pārbatī, and the Banās. The last mentioned river rises in the Arāvallis near the fort of Kumbhalgarh, and collects all the drainage of the south-eastern slopes of those hills, as well as the Mewar plateau; its principal tributaries are the Berach, Kothārī, Khāri, Māshi, Dhil, and Morel.[130]

To the south-west of Rājputānā and south-east of Sind lies the territory of Cutch or Kachchh, that is, 'The Sea-Coast land'. It is almost entirely cut off from the Indian sub-continent by the Great Rann to the north, the Little Rann to the east and the Gulf of Cutch to the south.[131]

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127. Ibid, p.357.
128. Ibid, pp.90, 357.
129. Ibid, pp.91, 357-8
130. I.G.I, Vol. XXI, pp.85-87.
131. Ibid, Vol. XI, p.75.

To the south-east of Cutch lies Kāthiāwār, a rectangular peninsular jutting out into the Arabian Sea between Cutch and the straight line of the Gujarāt coast. To the south east of Kāthiāwār is the Gulf of Cambay.[132] The old name of the country was Surāshtra. Ptolemy[133] and the Periplus[134] call it Syrastrene, Strabo mentions it as Sarastos and Hiuen-Tsiang calls it Su-la-cha.[135]

To the east and south of Rājputāna lies Central India (the Sanskrit Madhyadesa). In the south-western portion of Central India is a range of mountains, which is divided by the Narbadā river into two parallel lines, the northern line being known as the Vindhyas and the southern as the Sātpurās. The Pannā range which strikes across Bundelkhand, is a branch of the Vindhyas. Another arm of the Vindhyas, running in a boldly defined scarp north of the Son river, is known as the Kaimur range. There is a small chain, the Maikala, which links up the Vindhya and the Sātpurā systems near Amarkantak. It is to be noted that "In the tract of country which lies north of the Vindhyas all streams of importance rise in this range (that is, the said hill system) and except the Son, flow northwards; the Betwā, Chambal, Kālī Sind, Mahī, Pārbatī, Sind, and Siprā on the west, and the Dhasān, Ken and Tons on the east, all flowing in a general northerly course till they ultimately join the water system of the Gangetic Doab".[136]

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132. Ibid, Vol. XV, p.170.
133. M.A.I.P., pp.33, 136, 140.
134. Schoff, Periplus, Section 41, p.39.
135. C.A.G.I, p.697.
136. I.G.I, Vol. IX, p.323.

To the south of the Vindhyas runs the Narbadā river. It rises in the Maikala range and flows in a south-westerly direction till it falls into the sea below Broach. The Narbadā is called the Nemados or Namadas by Ptolemy,[137] and the Nammadus by the author of the Periplus.[138] Hiuen-Tsiang describes it as Nai-mo-ti.[139] Scholars are of the opinion, as will be seen later on, that the Narbadā formed the southern boundary of the Kushān Empire during the reign of Kanishka I and Huvishka.

Modern Broach (Bharoch) in Gujarat is frequently mentioned in early times, usually as Bharukachha. The Sanskrit name of Bharoch is Bhrigu-Kachha, which means 'High Coast Land', though according to Hindu tradition it is so called because it was founded by the sage Bhrigu.[140] In Buddhist literature the city was known as Bhirukachha.[141] It is mentioned by Ptolemy[142] and in the Periplus[143] as Barygaza. It was obviously the most important trading centre on the Western seaboard of India.

To the north of Central India flows the Jumna (Yamunā) river. It rises in Tehrī State, eight miles west of the lofty mountain Bandarpūnch. At the point where it passes into the Dūn, the valley between the Himālayas and the Siwāliks, it receives the Tons. Its course then runs southwest until it is joined by its two large affluents, the Giri from Sirmūr on the west and the Asan from Dehra on the east. At Kharā, the Jumna pierces the Siwāliks. It is already a large river at Faizābād, where it gives off the Western and Eastern Jumna canals. Near Bidhauli in Muzaffarnagar it turns south.

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137. M.A.I.P., p.38.
138. Schoff, Periplus, section 42, p.39.
139. Watters, Y.C.T.I, Vol.II, p.241.
140. I.G.I., Vol. IX, p.30.
141. C.A.G.I., p.700.
142. M.A.I.P., pp.38, 153.
143. Schoff, Periplus, Sec.41, p.39.

Ten miles below Delhi it gives off the Agra canal. It then turns south-east, but later again resumes a southerly course. It receives on the east the Kotha Nadī and the Hindan, and on the west the Sabi Nadī. It passes through Muttra or Mathurā, where it turns east to Agra near where it receives the Bāngangā. Just before Jalaun District is reached the great river Chambal from Rājputāna joins it. In Cawnpore District the Senger, and in Fatehpur the Non and Rind, flow into it. Close to Hamirpur it receives the Betwā, and in Bāndā District the Ken. It finally falls into the Ganges below Allahābād.[144] It is interesting to note that Ptolemy calls the Jumna the Diamouna; Pliny mentions it as the Jomanes and Arrian describes it as the Jobares.[145]

The ancient city of Muttra or Mathurā is situated on the banks of the Jumna. In ancient times Mathurā was the capital of Sūrasena, which was situated to the south of Indraprastha and east of Matsya. Madhu, King of the Daityas and his son Lavana ruled there. Satrughna, the younger brother of Rāma, killed Lavana and built the city Madhurā[146] or Mathurā, which is its Paiśāchī form.[147] Sūrasena, after whom the country is so called, was a son of Satrughna. It is interesting to note that Ptolemy, also, mentions Mathurā as Modoura 'the city of the gods'.[148] It is, above all, renowned as the birth-place of Śrī Krishna. Modern city of Mathurā is, however, not on the site of the ancient city. The area of habitation has moved to the north owing to the encroachment of the river.[149] It became famous in the Kushān period for manufacturing and exporting sculptures, which are found all over Northern India.

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144. I.G.I, Vol.XIV, pp.232 - 33
145. Ibid, p.232.
146. cf. M.A.I.P, p.129.
147. For references see C.A.G.I., p.706; cf. M.A.I.P, p.367.
148. Ibid, pp.124, 129. Perhaps in contradistinction to the other Madurā in the south.
149. C.A.G.I, p.706.

The most important river in Northern India (Uttarāpatha) is the Ganges, Mā Gangā. It rises in the Tehrī State, where it issues under the name of Bhāgirathi. During its earlier course it receives the Jāhnavī from the north-west, and subsequently the Alaknandā, after which the great river is called Ganges. It pierces the Himālayas at Sukhī, and turns south-west to Hardwār. From this point it flows south and south-east. It crosses the Districts of Allahābād, Mirzāpur, Benares and Ghāzīpur. The Ganges is a considerable river even at Hardwār, where the Upper Ganges Canal starts; it is tapped again at Naraura for the Lower Ganges Canal. Its chief tributaries are: the Rāmagangā, Jumna, Tons, Gumtī and Gogra, while its smaller affluents are the Mālin, Būrhgangā, Mahāwa, Sot or Yār-i-Wafādār, Isan, Pāndū, Jirgo, Barnā, Gāngī, Bosū, and Chhotī Sarjū, which is called the Tons in its upper portion. In the eastward march the Ganges receives the Gogra, and the son, and then passes Pātna, and receives another tributary the Gandak, which rises in Nepāl. Further to the east it receives the Kosī, and then, skirting the Rājmahāl Hills, turns sharply to the south. About 20 miles further on, the Ganges begins to branch out over the level country. The present main channel, which is called the Padmā, proceeds in a south-easterly direction past Pābnā to Goalundo, where it is joined by the Jamunā, the main stream of the Brahmaputra. Ultimately the Ganges flows into the Bay of Bengal.[150] It is well known that the sacred waters of the Ganges even today play an important part in the religious life of the Hindus.

To the east of modern United Provinces lies the Province of Bihār Nepāl forms its northern boundary and the modern Province of Bengal lies to the east. It is interesting to note that the districts of Pātna and Gayā comprised the ancient kingdom of Magadha,[151]

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150. I.G.I., Vol. XII, p.132.
151. C.A.G.I, p.719.

the capital of which, according to Hiuen-Tsiang, was at first at Kusumapura and subsequently at Pāṭaliputra[152] (Pātnā), which is best known in connection with the great Mauryan kings Chandra Gupta and Aśoka. North of the Ganges was Mithilā, which was a great seat of Sanskrit culture from early times. It included modern Districts of Darbhāngā, Champāran, and North Muzaffarpur, the south of the latter District comprised the ancient kingdom of Vaisalī. Sāran District formed part of the great kingdom of the Kosalas of Oudh, while the eastern Districts of Monghyr, Bhāgalpur and Purnea as far as the Mahānandā river belonged to the Kingdom of Anga.[153] "It was in Magadha that Buddha developed his religion..... ..... It was here also that Mahāvīra founded the cognate creed of the Jainas".[154]

We must here consider the various routes that were used in India itself. When merchants entered India from the west, they could descend the Indus and thereby could avoid the Thar desert, that is, the Rājputāna Desert, or they could use the Royal Road, built by the Mauryan rulers across Northern India to the Ganges. This road began at Pushkalāvatī, reached by the Kābul valley, and ran across the Indus through Taxila, across the Jhelum, the Beas, the Sutlej, the Jumna, and apparently through Hastinapura to the Ganges. Thence the road went by way of the ancient Calinapaxa (Kannuj?), Prayāga

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152. Ibid, p.518.
153. I.G.I., vol.VIII, p.171.
154. Ibid.

near Allahābād and Palibothra, that is, Pāṭnā, to the mouth of the Ganges probably at Tamluk. A branch of the road ran southwards from Modoura or Modura, that is, Mathurā, and passed through Ozene, that is, Ujjain, to Barygaza;[155] another road ran following the present-day G.I.P. mainline and passed through Gwalior, Lalitpur, Bhilsā, Sāñchī, Nāsik to the port of Kalyan near Bombay.[156] Thus, the ports of India, both on the Ganges and on the west coast, were linked with the trans-Asian silk-routes by roads leading north.

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155. Warmington, C.R.E.I., pp.23,31.

156. K. de B. Codrington, The Place of Archaeology in Indian Studies, Inaugural Lecture, delivered on October 28th, 1948, Published at the Institute of Archaeology, London, 1949, p.7.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL HISTORY.

The study of the political history of the Kushān period makes the magnitude of the problems, that are connected with the dating and the chronology of the Kushān Kings, only too evident. It is to be noted that some of these problems remain unsolved owing to an obvious lack of the necessary records. Moreover, the speculative theories supported by some scholars have only added fresh difficulties and made the issues all the more debatable. However, recent archaeological discoveries have helped to a great extent to cut through some of these complications, though there still remains much to be done in this regard. In this chapter efforts have been made to draw attention to the outstanding problems concerning the Kushān Dynasty and to solve wherever possible, the issues in debate with the help of the accounts of foreign trsvellers and the archaeological data, including inscriptions, both in Kharoshthī and Brāhmī, as well as the numismatic evidence. In addition to these materials, the traditions and the literary sources, both contemporary and subsequent to the Kushān period, have been fully utilised to construct, as far as possible, a comprehensive history of the period.

It has already been seen that the Kushāns were a tribe or a family within a large group and that this larger group was the Yue-chi.[1] For the early history of the Yue-chi we have to depend to some extent on the Chinese accounts, even though we know that the writings of the Chinese authorities were revised again and again and, this being so, there is every possibility of the true history being distorted.

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1. See Supra, Chapter I.

However, it is necessary to deal with this difficult material and to see what picture these various Chinese accounts paint, concerning the Yue-chi, as a whole.

The existence of the Yue-chi seems to have been known to the Chinese historians since the third century B.C. We learn from the Shi-ki[2] that "Originally they (that is, the Yue-chi) were strong and esteemed the Hiung-nu of small account.[3] But when Mao-tun mounted the throne, he attacked the Yue-chi and defeated them ..... Originally the Yue-chi lived between Tun-huang and the Ki-lien ..... After they had been defeated by the Hiung-nu, they went far away beyond Ta-wan (Ferghana). In the west they defeated the Ta-hia and made them subject to themselves. Thereafter they lived to the north of the Oxus river and established their headquarters there". From the same source [4] we, also, learn that the defeat of the Yue-chi must have taken place before 176 B. C.

This basic story of the wars and subsequent migrations of the Yue-chi is re-told by other Chinese authorities. The adventures of the Chinese ambassador Chang-K'ien as related by Ssū-ma-ch'ien in the Sse-ki or Shï-ki were retold in Pan-ku's Ts'ien Han-shu or Annals of the First Han Dynasty.[5] He was sent by the Chinese emperor to enlist the assistance of the Yue-chi against the Hiung-nu. On his way the Hiung-nu made him

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2. Chap.110, fol.6V°, chap.123,fol.4. cf.Marquart, Ērānšahr, p.201 ff, as quoted in C.I.I., p.liii.
3. The Hiung-nu were at first subject to the Yue-chi, Sir Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, Cathay and the Way Thither, vol. I. London, p.35.
4. Chap. 110, fol. 13r°, cf. Wylie, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, iii,1874, p.415., as quoted in C.I.I, p.liii.
5. H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, University of Calcutta, 1938, p.383.

a prisoner. Chang-K'ien had to live in captivity for more than ten years. During his imprisonment he got married and had a son. However, he succeeded in escaping from his enemies and was able to visit the territory of the Yue-chi. But unfortunately he failed in his mission, as the Yue-chi were unwilling to take revenge on the Hiung-nu. On his return journey Chang-K'ien was again taken prisoner but he managed once more to escape and return to China.[6] From the account of Chang-Kien's mission we learn that the capital of the Yue-chi was Kien-she, to the north of the Oxus and that the Yue-chi made themselves masters of the Ta-hia, whose capital was Lan-shi, to the south of the river in the present Badakshān.[7] Further we come to know from Ts'ien Han-shu[8] that in Ta-hia there were five Yue-chi principalities, each under one hi-hou, which all depended on the Ta-Yue-chi, viz. Hiu-mi, with the capital Ho-mo; Chuang-mi, withthe capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with the capital Hu-tsao; Hi-tun, with the capital Po-mao, and Kao-fu with the capital Kao-fu.

In Hou Han-shu, written by Fan-ye who died in 445 A.D. and [illegible] based on the report of Pan-yung and others, the account regarding the Yue-chi is slightly different.

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6. J.A.O.S., vol. 37, 1917, pp.93-95; J.R.A.S., 1912 pp. 668.ff; C.I.I., p.liv.
7. cf. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, II, viii; p.187, as quoted in C.I.I., p.liv. Badakshān remained the stronghold of the Yue-chi down to the fifth century. A.D., Konow, Ep. Ind., XXI, p.60.
8. Chap.96a, fol.15r°; cf. Specht, Journal Asiatique, VIII, ii, 1883, p.323, as quoted in C.I.I., p.lvi.

Lan-chi is now the capital and the Annals go on to relate : "Formerly the Yue-chi were conquered by the Hiung-nu; they transferred themselves to the Ta-hia and divided that kingdom between five hi-hou, viz. those of Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Tu-mi. More than a hundred years after this the hi-hou of Kuei-shuang called K'iu-tsiu-k'io, attacked the four other hi-hou, he styled himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kuei-shuang. He invaded An-si and seized the territory of Kao-fu; moreover he triumphed over Pu-ta and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. K'iu-tsiu-k'io died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. He again conquered T'ien chu and appointed a general there for the administration. From this moment the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. In all the kingdom they were spoken of as 'King of Kuei-shuang', but the Han stuck to their old designation and called them Ta Yue-chi".[9] If this passage is compared with that of the Ts'ien Han-shu, it will be seen that instead of Kao-fu, Tu-mi has been regarded as one of the five principalities by the later records such as the Hou Han-shu.[10] It is, however, interesting to note that the early history of the Yue-chi revolves round this particular passage as most scholars depend much on it to construct the story of the Yue-chi fights and migrations.

A succinct account of these events is, also, given in the Chinese encyclopaedia of Ma-twan-lin: "In ancient times the Hiung-nu having defeated the Yue-chi, the latter went to dwell among the Ta-hia, and the king of the Sai (Sakas) went southwards to live in Ki-pin.

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9. C.I.I., pp.lvi, lxii, see also Enchhofer, J.A.O.S., 1941, vol. 61, no.4. p.223 to note a slightly different translation of the passage.
10. cf. Konow, Ep. Ind., XXI.p.258.

The tribes of the Saï divided and dispersed, so as to form here and there different kingdoms".[11] It is quite evident that if too much importance is attached to such a condensed statement of facts, one is sure to commit a mistake.

In the first century A.D. (that is, in A.D.23) when the First Han Dynasty came to an end, the prestige of the Chinese emperors gradually began to dwindle. Fifty years later Chinese ambition reasserted itself, and for a period of thirty years, from A.D. 73 to 102, General Pan-ch'ao led an army from victory to victory, nearly as far as the confines of the Roman empire.[12] During this time, we once again find a Kushān King in the Chinese picture. The successive victories of the Chinese General alarmed the Kushān King, who regarded himself as the equal of the Chinese Emperor and boldly demanded a Chinese princess in marriage in A.D.90. Pan Ch'ao, however, took this offer as an insult to his master, arrested the envoy and sent him back with ignominy. As a result war broke out in which the Kushān King was defeated and was compelled to pay tribute to China.[13]

There is no doubt that a glimpse of the early history of the Yue-chi is afforded by these accounts, though the picture is hazy. Other sources, namely, theaccounts of modern scholars, the epigraphs and numismatic evidence, will have to be utilised in order to build a complete and correct history. It should be noted that in the Chinese accounts there are mentioned the Chinese names of a few places and of Kings which can only be identified by archaeological research in the actual field.

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11. C.H.I., p.566.
12. C.H.I., p.268.
13. Ibid, p.269, C.II., p.lxxii.

It has already been pointed out from the Shï-ki that originaly the Yue-chi were dwelling between Tun-huang, or Tunhwang, and the K'i-lien mountains or Tien Shan Range in Chinese Turkistān. But Smith says that they occupied lands in the Kan-su Province in North Western China.[14] He, also, differs from the Shï-ki regarding the date of the final defeat of the Yue-chi by the Hiung-nu. He thinks that "The date of this event is stated as 165 B.C. by most scholars while Dr. Franke gives the limiting dates as 174 and 160 B.C."[15] After their final defeat the Yue-chi were compelled to quit their lands and to migrate westwards in search of fresh pasture-grounds.[16] Smith says, "The moving horde mustered a force of bowmen, estimated to number from one hundred to two hundred thousand; and the whole multitude must have comprised, at least, from half a million to a million persons of all ages and both sexes. In course of their westward migration in search of grazing-grounds adequate for the sustenance of their vast numbers of horses, cattle and sheep, the Yue-chi, moving along the route past Kucha (n.lat.41° 38', E.long.83° 25'), to the north of the desert of Taklamakan, the Gobi of old maps, came into conflict with a smaller horde, named Wu-sun, which occupied the basin of the Ili river and its southern tributaries, the Tekes and Konges".[17]

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14. E.H.I., p.263, see also E.H.Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, London, New York, 1924, p.8.
15. E.H.I., p.263.
16. C.H.I., p.565.
17. E.H.I., pp.263, 264.

In the battle the Wu-sun were worsted and their Chief Nan-tiu-mi was killed. The Yue-chi, however, continued their march westwards beyond Lake Issykkul. Here they appear to have divided themselves into two bands - a small section diverging to the south, settled on the borders of Tibet, and became known as the Little Yue-chi, while the main body, which continued the westward march, was designated as the Great Yue-chi.[18] The Chinese historians mention the Great Yue-chi as Ta Yue-chi.

The Yue-chi were unable to live in peace for a long time as they could not check the momentum of their migration and search for a new home. Once again they plunged into battles and defeated the Se or Sakas,[19] who dwelt to the west of the Wu-sun, and to the north of the Jaxartes, that is, Syr Daryā. As a result of the defeat, the King of the Sakas, was compelled to seek refuge in Ki-pin, and the Sakas, accompanied by cognate tribes, had to swarm into Sogdiana, and so ultimately made their way into India, through the northern passes.[20] Having entered India the branches of the Śaka settled down at Taxila in the Punjab and Mathurā on the Jumna. There these foreign princes, with the title of Satrap, ruled for more than a century seemingly in subordination to the Parthian power. Another section of the horde, at a later date, perhaps about the middle of the first century after Christ, pushed on southwards and occupied the peninsula of Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār. There they ultimately founded a Śaka dynasty, which lasted until it was destroyed by Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, about A.D.390.[21]

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18. See G. Rawlinson, Parthia, London, New York, MDCCCXCIII, p.107; E.H.I., p.264; C.H.I., p.565.
19. R.D.Banerji thinks that this fight probably took place about the year 160 B.C., I.A., 1908, Vol.XXXVII, p.32.
20. E.H.I., p.264.
21. Ibid, p.241.

The Yue-chi remained undisturbed for some years in their newly acquired lands. Meanwhile, Kwen-mo, the son of the slain Wu-sun chief, grew up to manhood under the care of the Hiung-nu. The Wu-sun - Hiung-nu alliance forced the Yue-chi to resume their march, and they moved into the valley of the Oxus and reduced its peaceful inhabitants, known to the Chinese as Ta-hia, to a condition of vassalage. The Yue-chi probably at once extended their political domination over Ta-hia (Bahse ?) or Bactria, to the south of the Oxus.[22]

This conquest of the valley of the Oxus and the subjection of its inhabitants by the Yue-chi are referred by Trogus "When he speaks of the Asiani, the Kings of the Tocharians and the annihilation of the Sarauc̄ae".[23] Konow says that "The Asiani are the Yue-chi and the Tocharians the Ta-hia, and the final reduction of the Ta-hia country brought about the annihilation of the Sarauc̄ae who may consequently be considered to have exercised a certain supremacy over the Ta-hia or Tocharians before that time".[24] Cunningham postulates that the Asiani refer to the Kushāns and that the Sarauc̄ae represent the Sakas.[25] Tarn, on the other hand, agrees with Konow in identifying the Asiani with the Yue-chi.[26]

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22. W.M.McGovern, The Early Empires of Central Asia, p.128.
23. Trogus, Prologus, XLII, as quoted by Konow, C.I.I., pp.liv, lv.
24. C.I.I., pp. liv, lv; see also, pp.lvii, lviii, lx.
25. Num. chron. 3rd series, vol. XII, 1892, p.42.
26. Tarn, C.B.I., p.284. See, also, the learned discussions made by him in "Seleucid - Parthian Studies". (P.B.A., Vol. XVI,1930), pp.4 ff.

With more clarity Strabo records the movements of the Yue-chi in the Oxus valley. He says, "The best known tribes are those who deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, the Asii, Pasiani, (Asiani ?) Tocheri and Sacarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes".[27] Cunningham identifies the Sacaraulī with the Śākas, the Tocheri with the Yue-chi and the Pasiani with the Kushāṇa.[28] Minns postulates that in the names Asii and Pasiani "Lie hid Yue-chi and Wu-sun".[29] Tarn is of the opinion that "The name Asii represents the Yue-chi".[30] Kennedy supports Cunningham in identifying the Tocheri with the Yue-chi.[31] It is interesting to note that the name Tocheri is, also, mentioned by Pliny.[32] Ptolemy describes it as the Tokharoi.[33] The Tokharoi, as Majumdar Śāstrī points out in his notes to "McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy", "Are the Tushāras, Tushkhāras or Tukhāras of Sanskrit Literature"[34] The Mahābhārata takes notice of the Tukhāras, who brought tribute to Yudhishṭhira.[35] The Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang writes about Tu-ho-lo, who are, no doubts the Tukhāra as identified by Beal and Cunningham.[36]

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27. G.S., Vol. II, Book XI, ch. VIII, 2, p.249.
28. Num. Chron., 3rd series, vol. XII, 1892, p.42.
29. E.H.Minns, Scythians and Greeks, Cambridge, 1913, p.122.
30. C.B.I., pp.284, 285.
31. J.R.A.S., 1912, pp.665, 668.
32. N.H.P., Vol. II, Book VI, chap.20, p.37.
33. M.A.I.P., p.268.
34. Ibid, p.394.
35. M. Bh., Sabhā Parva, ed. by P.C.Roy, Calcutta, 1884, vol.II Section LI, p.143, ecc, also, Ibid Vana Parva, Section LI, p.155; Ibid, Vol. XI, 1890, Śānti Parva, Section LXV, p.209.
36. Si-Yu-Ki, vol. I. p.37, f.n. 121, Num. chron, 3rd series, vol. XIII, 1893, p.113.

Smith thinks that the Yue-chi arrived in Ta-hia in the year 138 B.C.[37] There they established their capital to the noth of the Oxus in the territory belonging to ancient Sogdiana.[38] When Chang-K'ien visited the Yue-chi Kingdom in or about 130 - 125 B.C., he found the capital still in this position.[39] Ray-chaudhuri rightly points out[40] the contradictory statements made by Konow in this connection. He states[41] that the Yue-chi capital was said to have been in Badakshān to the south (and not to the north) at the time of Chang-K'ien's visit.

From Pan-ku's Ts'ien Han-shu, the Annals of the First Han Dynasty, it has already been noted that in Ta-hia there were five principalities, each under one hi-hou, which all depended on the Ta Yue-chi, viz., Hiu-mi, with the capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi, with the capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang, with the capital Hu-tsao;

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37. E.H.I., p.293. According to Konow, the Yue-chi conquered Ta-hia after 160 B.C., but R.D.Banerji is of the opinion that "The year 148 B.C. would be somewhere nearer the mark". C.I.I., p.liv; I.A., 1908, Vol. XXXVII, p.32.
38. P.H.A.I., p.383.
39. C.I.I., pp.xxii, xxiii, liv, lxii, R.B.Whitehead, Catologue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, vol. I, Indo-Greek Coins, Oxford, 1914, p.171. J.R.A.S.1903, pp.19,20; 1912, pp.668 ff; J.A.O.S., vol. 37, 1917, pp.89 ff; see P.H.A.I., p.383.
40. P.H.AI., p.383, f.n.1.
41. C.I.I., p.lvi.

Hi-tun, with the capital Po-mao; and Kao-fu, with the capital Kao-fu. Konow has tried to identify Hiu-mi with the present Wākhān, Shuang-mi with Chitrāl, Kuei-shuang, that is, the Kushān principality, with the region apparently situated somewhere between Chitrāl and the Panjshīr country, Hi-tun with Parwān on the Panjshīr, and Kao-fu with Kābul.[42] He, however, later on identifies Kuei-shuang with the country apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra or Gandhāra itself and thereby supports the view of Marquart.[43]

In the account of the Hou Han-shu it is stated that K'iu-tsiu-k'io, the hi-hou of Kuei-shuang, attacked the four other hi-hou and styled himself King. It is interesting to note that K'iu-tsiu-k'io has been identified with Kujūla Kadphises, who is conventionally known to European writers as Kadphises I, the first Kushān King and the architect of the Kushān Empire.[44]

Many speculations have been made regarding the name Kushān. Baron Holstein comes to the conclusion that Kusha or Kuça "Was the correct name of the warlike race that gave Kanishka to the Buddhist world".[45] Fleet does not accept Holstein's opinion and believes that "It cannot be held that a case has been made out for regarding the name of the race as being anything except Kushān".[46]

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42. C.I.I., p.lvi; for the identification of Kao-fu, see Cunningham's opinion, Supra, chapter I.
43. Konow, Ep. Ind., XII, p.258; C.I.I, p.lvi.
44. C.I.I., p.lxii; E.H.I., pp.265, 266 f.n.1.
45. J.R.A.S., 1914, p.88.
46. Ibid, p.381.

Allan in his remarkable article in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' has altogether differed from the view held by Holstein.[47] Thomas, also, has denounced the speculations of Holstein and thinks that Kushān was a racial or family title.[48] Jayaswal, on the other hand, has started a new theory altogether. He postulates that the name Kushān was actually the personal name of Kadphises I.[49] There is great doubt as to his being correct. However, it does seem that the name of the dynasty was Kushān and not Kusha or Kuṣa.

There is controversy among scholars regarding the date when Kadphises I defeated the four hi-hou and established a united kingdom, which became known as the Kushān Empire. According to Konow and others, it happened probably in the year A.D.25, whereas Smith thinks that his accession may be dated approximately in the year A.D.40.[50]

The pressure of population and the consequent search for subsistence, which had compelled the Yue-chi to march from the borders of China to the Hindukush, still remained a problem for them, and, that being so, Kadphises I had to fight afresh to acquire more territory to meet the

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47. Ibid, p.403.
48. Ibid, 1915, p.552.
49. J.B.O. R.S., vi, pp.12-22
50. C.I.I., pp.lxiii-lxvi; C.H.I., p.585; Whitehead, Catal., p.171; Ep. Ind., XXI, p.258; E.H.I., p.265

overgrowing needs of the horde.[51] In addition to this economic pressure, it seems likely that Kadphises I had political aspirations, which impelled him to attack the countries across the Hindu Kush. It also seems probable that the Kushān horde had already slowly spilt over the mountain barrier, a process likely to have happened in the case of a tribal nation in need of fresh lands. Hence, when Kadphises I attacked the regions to the south, he may have done it in order to establish his power over areas already penetrated by his people. In any case, this expansion helped to build up a great empire, which played an important part in the history of ancient India.

According to Smith, Kadphises I made himself master of Ki-pin, which may be interpreted as meaning Gandhāra (the region including Taxila and Takht-i-Bāhi)[52] as well as the Kābul territory. A.D.50 may be taken as an acceptable date for the actual conquest. Kadphises I, in the course of his long reign, also consolidated his power in Bactria, and found time to attack the Parthians. The Yue-chi advance necessarily involved the suppression of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian chiefs of the principalities to the west of the Indus.[53]

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51. E.H.I., p.266

52. The Kushān conquest of Taxila, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can, according to Konow, roughly be dated ca. A.D.65, Ep.Ind, XXI, p.257.

53. E.H.I., p.267.

D.R. Bhandarkar thinks that Kadphises I also subjugated Rājputāna, Central India and Gujarāt through Nahapāna, who afterwards was made a Kshatrapa. He claims that his theory is based on numismatic evidence, that is to say, the Kuśaṇas and Suvarṇas, silver and gold coins minted by Nahapāna who, he believes was a viceroy, not only of Kadphises II but also of Kadphises I.[54] It is however very doubtful whether Nahapāna was a viceroy of Kadphises I.

Konow tries to furnish details regarding the conquests of Kadphises I and to that end makes a great deal of the account of Ho Han-shu. From that account we learn that Kadphises I invaded An-si, seized Kao-fu, triumphed over Pu-ta and Ki-pin. Konow thinks that An-si denotes probably the Parthian dynasty in the east, that is, in and near Kābul to which Gondopharnes belonged,[55] but it seems that there is great doubt as to his identification of this territory. Most scholars, including Konow, identify Kao-fu with Kābul, though Cunningham, as has already been seen, differs from them.[56] About the identification of Ki-pin, Konow's view is

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54. I.A., vol.XLVII, pp.76, 77; vol. XLVIII, p.81; see Nāsik inscription 12.
55. C.I.I., p. lxii
56. See Supra, Chapter I.

identifical with that of Smith.[57] Chavannes identifies Pu-ta with the city of Balkh;[58] however, it seems to Konow that Pu-ta cannot have been very distant from Kābul and Ki-pin, which he thinks, must have comprised parts of the Punjab.[59]

There are a few inscriptions that mention a Kushān King, who has been identified by Konow and others as Kadphises I. Konow thinks that Kadphises I is designated as erjhuṇa (a Khotani word meaning Kumāra) in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 of the Vikrama era, that is, A.D.46 in the reign of Gondopharnes.[60]

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57. for the identification, see above. In the earlier Chinese annals Ki-pin has often been treated as synonymous with Kashmīr (cf .J.R.A.S.,1913,p.1057 f.n.) It, however, seems that Codrington is right when he says that Ki-pin most probably comprised the Indus country, the Kābul valley, including the Swāt river country and parts of the Punjab, but not the north-western parts of modern Kashmīr, K.de B.Codrington, Ancient India,London 1926, p.40 f.n.

58. T'oung Pao, II, vii, p.513f, viii, p.191 as quoted in C.I.I.,p.lxiv.

59. C.I.I., p.lxiv. But Po-ta, that is, perhaps Pu-ta, denotes Bactria or more probably Arachosia, E.H.I., p.293;cf .also Konow, Ep.Ind.XXI, p.258 f.n.

60. Ep.Ind., XXI, pp.256, 257; C.I.I., p.68; Konow in C.I.I., pp.lxii, 62 mentions the date as probably A.D.19 - a view which is afterwards corrected by him in Ep.Ind,XXI.

Takht-i-Bāhī, where this inscription may have been found, is situated about 8 miles north-west of Mardan in the Yūsuf-zai country. The text of this Kharoshthī inscription runs thus:-

"(During the reign) of the mahārāja Guduvhara, in the 26. year, in the one-hundred-and-third year, 10ȝ. year, on the first 1., day of the month of Vaiśākha, at this auspicious paksha (this) chapel (is) the religious gift of Balasami (Balasvāmin?) the Saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Mira the Saviour (and) of Prince Kapa (erȷhuṇa Kapasa puyas), in honour of mother and father."[61]

Here, Guduvhara is obviously the Parthian king Gondopharnes, who is known from Christian traditions to have been a contemporary of Saint Thomas.[62] Konow identifies Prince Kapa with Kadphises I, but Rapson rejects his interpretation.[63] Now, if the king, mentioned in this record is Kadphises I, it is then evident that at first he had established good relations with the Parthians whom he attacked later on. According to Konow again, Kadphises I is mentioned in the Panjtār inscription of the year 122 of the Vikrama era, that is, ca. A.D.65,[64] where the king

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61. C.I.I., p.62; see, also, D.C.Sircar, Select Inscriptions Calcutta, 1942, pp.121-22.

62. C.I.I., p.58.

63. Ibid, p.62; J.R.A.S., 1930, p.189.

64. C.I.I., pp.lxvi, 68; Ep.Ind., XXI, p.259, about the date, see Ep.Ind; XXI, pp.256,257.

is designated as maharaya. Fleet, however, identifies the king with Kadphises II or his Indian viceroy Soter Megas, the Nameless King.[65] The text of this Kharoshṭhī inscription is:-

"Anno 122, on the first - 1. - day of the month of Śrāvaṇa, in the reign of the Gushaṇa Great King (maharayasa Gushaṇasa raja [mi]), the eastern region of [Ka?] sua was made an auspicious ground by Moika, the Urumuja scion. And there in my gift (are) two trees. Through this meritorious deed.....immortal places of bliss."[66]

If Konow is right in interpreting the inscription in this way, Kadphises I, whose career of conquest had not begun in A.D.46, as is evident from the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, had established his power by A.D.65, at the date of the Panjtār inscription.[67]

In the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 of the Vikrama era, that is, ca. A.D.79, the Kushān king has been identified by Konow as Kadphises I;[68] but Rapson identifies the king with Kadphises II[69] and recently

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65. J.R.A.S., 1913, pp.1010-1011; see also Rapson's opinion in C.H.I., p.584.

66. C.I.I., p.70.

67. Ep.Ind., XXI, p.257

68. J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S., 1925, vol.I, No.1, p.1; see also G.Jouveau-Dubreuil's Ancient History of Deccan, transl. by V.S.S.Dikshitar, Pondicherry, 1920, p.33; Ep.Ind., XXI, p.259; C.I.I., p.76.

69. C.H.I., p.582; for the date see Ep.Ind; XXI, pp.256.

Thomas takes the king to be Kanishka I.[70] The text of this Kharoshṭhī inscription runs "Anno 136, on the 15. day of the first month of Āshāḍha, on this day were established relics of the Lord by Urasaka, of the Imtavhria boys, the Bactrian, the resident of the town of Kaocha. By him these relics of the Lord were established in his own bodhisattva chapel, in the Dharmarājikā compound of Takshasílā, for the bestowal of health on the Great king, the King of Kings, the Son of the Heaven, the Khushāṇa (maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khushaṇasa), in honour of all the Buddhas, in honour of the Pratyekabuddhas, in honour of the Arhats, in honour of all beings, in honour of mother and father, in honour of friends, ministers, kinsmen, and blood-relations, for the bestowal of health upon himself. May this thy right munificence lead to Nirvāṇa."[71]

If Konow is right in identifying the king with Kadphises I, it is then obvious that Kadphises I, who is described in the inscription as 'the Great King, the King of Kings, the son of the Heaven', must have completed his victorious career by this time.[72] It is to be noted, concerning the dating of the inscription, that it is now

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70. B.C.Law Volume, Part II, ed. by D.R.Bhandarkar, K.A. Nilkanta Sastri, B.M.Barua, B.K.Ghosh, P.K.Gode, Poona, 1946, p.313.

71. C.I.I., p.77.

72. Ibid, p.lxvi

believed that the so-called era of Azes was the Vikrama era of 57 B.C.; some scholars, including Marshall and Rapson have always thought this probable;[73] and Konow, who formerly refused to believe that ayasa was Azes, now in the light of the Kalawān inscription regards this as certain.[74]

In this connection it is interesting to note that Konow in his various contributions has adopted the view that the Vikrama era was inaugurated in 57 B.C., and, therefore, has calculated the dates of the Kushān inscriptions on this basis. There is, however, another view that suggests that the era was established in 58 B.C.[75] About the origin of the so-called Vikrama era it may be noted that there is an "Indian belief that the Era was founded by a king Vikrama, Vikramāditya, who began to reign at Ujjain in that year.....Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the 9th and 10th cen. A.D."[76]

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73. for references see Ibid, pp.70, 71; J.R.A.S., 1914, pp.973 ff; C.H.I., pp.581 ff.

74. J.R.A.S., 1932, pp.950-52; J.I.H., XII, 1933, pp.1-4.

75. J.R.A.S., 1913, pp.469-470.

76. Ibid, p.997; see in this connection the learned discussion made by Raychaudhuri, P.H.A.I., p.386, f.n.3.

Kadphises I was the first of the series of Kushān kings, who struck coins, and from these coins, we get ample materials for reviewing his reign. It is interesting to note that some of the issues of his coinage connect him with the Greek king Hermaeus, who ruled in the Kābul valley. The coins show the following sequence - first, Hermaeus[77.] alone; second, Hermaeus and Kadphises I;[78.] and third,[79.] Kadphises I alone.[80.] We might infer from this that Kadphises I gradually subdued Hermaeus and that, at one stage, both had a share in the sovereignty, that is, they ruled conjointly,[81.] and that ultimately Kadphises I became all powerful and Hermaeus lost his kingdom.[82.] In the opinion of some scholars, however, Hermaeus was dead at the time of the Kushān conquest.[83.] Rapson thinks that the coins of Kadphises I were struck in the Kābul valley and that they were imitated from the barbarous issues of that region, which still continued to be reproduced mechanically, the

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77. cf. Rapson, Indian Coins, Strassberg, 1897, p.16.

78. P.Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, ed. by R.S.Poole, London, 1886, p.62; V.A. Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol.I, Oxford 1906, p.32.

79. Whitehead, Catal., pl.XVII, 1-6, p.178; Gardner, Catal., p.120; Rapson, I.C., pl.II, No.7.

80. Gardner, Catal., p.122.

81. C.I.I., p.lxiii

82. E.H.I., pp.251,266; Whitehead, Catal., pp.7,172. According to M.G.Pai, Kadphises I may have extinguished his ally in about 50-55 A.D., N.I.A., vol.I, No.4, July 1938, p.272.

83. cf. P.H.A.I., p.385, f.n.1

legends pressing the name of the last Greek king, Hermaeus, long after his death.[84] It is obvious that the Kushāns, having no tradition of moneying themselves, had to use the mints established by their predecessors; hence early types survived until the dynasty was fully established and could utilise the craftsmen of the already existing mints for their own dynastic purposes. Tarn has tried to suggest that when Kadphises I, a descendant of the Kushān 'Yavuga' Miaos, who had married a relative of Hermaeus, started on his victorious campaigns, he proclaimed to the Greeks in India that he came, not as a foreign conqueror, but as their lawful ruler by hereditary relation to their last king Hermaeus; the coins here considered are the dry bones of that propaganda.[85] It remains, however, to be seen whether Tarn's conjecture is acceptable.

The name of Kadphises I is given on his coins in various ways, namely, Kozolakadaphes, Kozoulokadphises, Kujulakarakadphises, Kayula Kaphasa, Kuyula Kadphasa, Kuyula Kara Kaphasa, Kyula Kora Kapasa.[86] We have, therefore, evidence of the difficulties that the mint masters had to face for spelling his name, which was in every sense a foreign name. But Rapson is of the opinion that the prince

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84. C.H.I., p.584.

85. C.B.I., p.507.

86. E.H.I., p.266, f.n.; C.I.I., p.lxv; Smith, Catal., pp.66, 67.

whose name on the coins has been read as Kujulakara Kadphises,[87] or variations of it, was probably another member of the Kushān dynasty, who, he says, succeeded the satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvatī and may have been contemporary with Kadphises II.[88] However, as it has already been noted, Smith holds that Kozalakadaphes and Kujulakara-kadphises are one and the same person, the king who is known as Kadphises I to western historians.[89]

One thing is clear, Kadphises I imitated the portrait types of the great Roman emperors.[90] The coins issued by him are of various types; these bear bust of Hermaios(Hermaeus) and Herakles, Macedonian soldier, Bull and Camel, head of Augustus and seated king, and seated Buddha and Zeus.[91] The legends used are, also, varied, as for example, Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhramathidasa, Kuyula-Kara-Kapasa Maharayasa Rayatirayasa;

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87. See Num.Chron,3rd series, vol.XII, 1892, p.66, where Kujula-Kara-Kadphises has been supposed to be the son of Kadphises I and the predecessor of Kadphises II, but on p.45 of the Num.Chron. Cunningham has placed him before Kanishka I and after Kadphises II. Rapson is right in pointing out this discrepancy, Rapson, I.C., p.17.

88. C.H.I., p.582; Rapson, I.C., p.17.

89. E.H.I., p.266, f.n; see supra.

90. J.R.A.S., 1912, p.987; J.Allan, Sir T.W.Haig, H.H. Dodwell, Cambridge Shorter History of India, ed. by H.H.Dodwell, Cambridge, 1934, p.74; Whitehead, Catal., pl.XVII, No.24, p.181.

91. This type seems to prove that the introduction of the Buddha image does not date from the reign of Kanishka I, but goes back to the reign of Kadphises I. Coomaraswamy, however, points out that the identity of the figure cannot be regarded as established beyond all doubt, Whitehead, Catal., pp.181-82, f.n.1; A.K.Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, Leipzig, New York, 1927, p.99.

Maharayasa Rayarayasa Devaputrasa Kuyula-Kara Kaphsasa,[92] Maharajasa Mahatasa Kushana Kuyula-Kaphasa, Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Kuyula-Kaphasa, Kaphśasa Sachadhramathitasa Khushanasa Yauasa, Kuyula Kaphśasa, Kuyula Kapsasa Dhrama-thidasa Khushanasa Yauasa and Khushanasa Yauasa Kuyula Kaphsasa Sachadhramathidasa.[93]

The empire of Kadphises I seems to have extended from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus or, perhaps, to the Jhelum, and may have included Sogdiana, with all the territories of the present kingdom of Afghānistān,[94] but the evidence is not conclusive.

According to some scholars, Kadphises I died at the age of eighty sometime between A.D. 77 to A.D. 79,[95] but others do not accept this view.[96]

Kadphises I was succeeded by Vima Kadphises or Kadphises II, who is mentioned as Yen-Kao-Chen in the Hou Han-shu. On his coins his name is given as Wima

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92. Thomas, however, holds that the reading of this title is definitely wrong, B.C.L.V., pt.II, p.307.

93. Whitehead, Catal., pp.178-9, 181-82; Smith, Catal., pp.33, 65-67; Num.Chron., 3rd series, Vol.XII, 1892, pp.64, 66; Gardner, Catal., p.123.

94. E.H.I., p.267.

95. C.I.I., p.lxvi; E.H.I., p.267.

96. I.A., vol.XXXVII, p.72; Rapson, I.C., p.16; Num.Chron., 3rd series, 1892, vol.XII, p.45.

Kathpisa (or Kapthithisa), Wima Kathphisa, Hima Kathpisa, Wima (Coēma) Kadphises, Himakapti(?)sa, and Vima Kathpisa.[97] In addition to the numismatic evidence, one Kharoshthi inscription, also, probably mentions Kadphises II. The Khalatse Stone inscription of the year 187 or 184 bears the name "Of the great King Uvima Kavthisa" (maharajasa Uvima Kavthisasa), who has been identified by Konow as Kadphises II.[98]

Scholars differ among themselves regarding the date of Kadphises II's accession. Dates on the whole range from ca. A.D.30 to ca.A.D.250.[99] But in spite of this wide difference of opinion, there seems to be no doubt about the fact that he succeeded to the throne immediately after the death of his father.

Kadphises II was as great a warrior as his father. It was he who, as stated in the Hou Han-shu, conquered T'ien-chu;[100] according to Konow this term, however, only denotes the Indus country.[101] It is probable that these

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97. C.I.I., p.lxii; Smith, Catal, p.68; Num.Chron.,3rd series, 1892, vol.XII, p.67; E.H.I., p.267, f.n.1; Rapson, I.C., Pl.II, No.11; Whitehead, Catal; p.185.

98. C.I.I., pp.80, 81.

99. Rapson, I.C., p.17; I.A., vol.XXXVII, p.72; R.G. Bhandarkar, A.Peep into the early history of India, J.B.B.R.A.S., 1900, Vol.XX, pp.356 ff, cf. The Collected works of Sir R.G.Bhandarkar, Vol.I, ed.by N.B.Utgikar and V.G.Paranjpe, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, 1933, p.56; see, also, vol.IV, ed. by N.B.Utgikar, Poona, 1929, p.167.

100. Rapson takes T'ien-chu to denote North Western India, C.H.I., p.584.

101. C.I.I., p.lxvii; Ep.Ind., XXI, p.258; it may, according to S.Lévi, also denote India, J.A., 1936, pp.67-88.

districts were under the rule of petty Parthian princes and other rulers, who were swept away by the mighty power of the Kushān king.[102] Smith says that he, also, "Conquered the Punjab and a considerable part of the Gangetic plain probably as far as Benares."[103] Schoff in the notes to his edition of Periplus says that his conquest extended to Ghāzipur.[104] However, the evidence for the extent of his Indian dominions rests chiefly on the distribution of the find-spots of his coins, and, if this evidence is acceptable, then it is clear that the coins of Kadphises II occur in Cutch (Kachchh) and Kāthiāwār in addition to the territories already mentioned.[105] He governed the conquered territory through military viceroys to whom should be attributed the large issues of coins known as those of the Nameless King.[106] The types of these coins are varied and mainly consist of bust of king and horseman, bust of king and Zeus standing, and horseman and Zeus standing.[107] Konow thinks that Kadphises II's viceroys were the so-called Western Kshatrapas, who

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102. E.H.I., p.268; C.I.I., p.lxvii.

103. E.H.I., p.267.

104. Schoff, Periplus, p.187.

105. E.H.I., p.268.

106. C.I.I., p.lxix; E.H.I., p.268; Whitehead, Catal.p.160. See Num.Chron., 3rd series, 1893, vol.XIII, p.116, where Cunningham says that the coins of the Nameless King are found in copper only.

107. Smith, Catal., p. 61.

hold sway in Surāshtra and Mālava.[108] Bhumaka and Nahapāna may have been the Kshatrapas of the Kushān king.[109] Kadphises II, also, seems to have appointed other persons to carry on the government of that kingdom which he inherited from his father.[110] [111] [112]

It has already been noted, while discussing the early notices of the Yue-chi by the Chinese, that the Chinese General Pan-ch'ao defeated a Kushān king in the first century A.D. and compelled him to pay tribute to China. Konow presumes that this Kushān king was Kadphises II.[113]

Kadphises II struck gold coins in imitation of Roman aurei and also issued an extensive copper and bronze coinage.[114] According to Gardner, he issued silver coins, a specimen of which has been described in the British Museum catalogue of Greek and Scythic kings.[115] His coins are of

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108. C.I.I., p.lxix

109. who must have been the first Kshatrapa appointed, Ibid, p.lxx.

110. I.A., vol.XLVII, p.76.

111. C.I.I., p.lxx; but Rapson postulates that the Western Kshatrapas were subordinate rulers under Kanishka I, who was the successor of Kadphises II, as they used the Saka era, which, according to him, was founded by Kanishka I, C.H.I., p.585; also, see E.J.Rapson Ancient India from the earliest times to the first century A.D., Cambridge, 1914, p.147.

112. C.I.I., p.lxviii

113. Ibid, p.lxxii

114. E.H.I., p.270; Smith, Catal., p.63.

115. Gardner, Catal., p.126.

various types generally bearing King enthroned and Indian deity Śiva and bull, bust of king and Śiva, head of king in frame, head of king in frame and combined trident and battle-axe, and standing king and Śiva and bull. The legends used mainly are: Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Sarvaloga Iśvarasa Mahiśvarasa Vima (or Wima or Hima) Kaṭhphiśasa Tradara (or Tradata or Tratarasa), Maharaja Rajadiraja Vima Kapisasa and Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Sarvaloga Iśvara Mahiśvara Himakapisasa Tradata.[116] It is possible that the Indian embassy, which offered its congratulations to the Emperor Trajan at some date after his return to Rome in A.D.99, was despatched by Kadphises II to announce his conquest of North-west India.[117]

It is now necessary to discuss the most controversial problem of Indian history, namely, the origin of the Śaka era. Konow, depending on the accounts of Kālakāchāryakathānaka and Hou Han-shu, puts forward the theory that it was Kadphises II, who inaugurated the famous Śaka era of A.D.78.,[118] and Smith supports him.[119] However, many other

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116. Whitehead, Catal; pp.183,184; J.A.S.B., N.S., vol.XXIX, 1933, Numismatic Supplement, No.XLIV (for 1931-33), p.78; Num.Chron.,3rd series, vol.XII,1892, p.67; Smith,Catal.,pp.68ff;Gardner,Catal, p.126.

117. Schoff, Periplus, p.187; E.H.I., p.269.

118. C.I.I., pp.lxvii,lxviii,lxxxviii; Ep.Ind.,XXI,pp.57-58;XIV, p.141; see,also,H.G.Rawlinson,India, London, 1937, p.93.

119. V.A.Smith, The Oxford History of India, Oxford, 2nd edition, p.128; E.H.I., p.271, f.n.1.

scholars, reject this view of Konow's. Fergusson started the theory, that the era was instituted by Kanishka I, who, succeeded Kadphises II in A.D.78, and he is warmly supported by Rapson, Banerji, Oldenberg, Thomas and many others.[120] On the other hand, there are, also, many other scholars, such as Dubreuil, Beyer and Bhandarkar, who are of the opinion that the Śaka era was not inaugurated by any of the Kushān kings, though they again differ among themselves as to who really did institute the era. Accordingly, it has been suggested that the era was founded by Chashṭana,[121] Nahapāna,[122] or Vonones.[123] Leeuw, in her great book 'The Scythian Period' has summarised the various views supported by scholars and she herself has come to the conclusion that "The so-called Kanishka era, which began in the first year of Kanishka's (that is, Kanishka I) reign, is no other than the Śaka era of 78 A.D."[124] However, a wide difference of opinion still persists and it must be admitted that there is no general agreement on the question.

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120. J.R.A.S., N.S., xii, 1880, pp.259ff; I.A.,1908, vol.XXXVII, p.72; Rapson, I.C., p.18; E.J.Rapson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, The Western Ksatrapas, Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty, London, 1908, p.cvii, C.H.I.,p.583; EH.A.I., pp.388ff, note the references; Bachhofer, OZ,1927, p.21ff, 1930,p.10ff.

121. I.A.,1923,vol.LII, p.84; Num.Chron.,3rd series, vol. XII,1892, p.44, but this view of Cunningham was afterwards completely abandoned; cf.A.H.D.,p.35,36.

122. J.A.,IX,X, pp.120ff; J.R.A.S.,1913,p.992, but Banerji thinks that this view is wrong,J.R.A.S.,1917, p.289.

123. J.B.B.R.A.S., XX, pp.280ff, esp.p.293.

124. J.E.V.L.Leeuw, The Scythian Period,Leiden,1949,pp.5.

A further difficulty that has confronted many scholars is as to whether the Kanishka group of Kushān kings consisting of Kanishka I, Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudeva I preceded the Kadphises group, consisting of Kadphises I and Kadphises II. Fleet and Kennedy have repeatedly argued that the Kanishka group preceded the Kadphises group and that Kanishka inaugurated the so-called Vikrama era. In other words, Kanishka I ruled in the first century B.C.[125] This view has later on been supported by Kimura.[126] But Thomas, Smith, Rapson and others have controverted the speculations of Fleet and Kennedy. According to them, the Kanishka group came after the Kadphises group sometime in the first or second century A.D.[127] It has, however, been generally supposed that the evidence of the stratification of the ruins at Taxila proves the posteriority of the Kanishka group.[128] Concerning this stratification Marshall writes as follows:- "The buildings at the Chir

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125. J.R.A.S., 1903, p.334; 1906, pp.979ff; 1912, p.668ff, 981ff; 1913, pp.95ff, 369ff, 913ff, 920ff, 965ff, 1054-55; 1914, pp.992ff; 1915, pp.314ff; for other references see E.H.I., p.274, f.n.1.

126. I.H.Q., 1925, vol.I, No.3, pp.417ff.

127. J.R.A.S., 1913, pp.630ff, 912, 951, 1011ff; 1914, pp.751, 989ff; Bhandarkar, A Peep into the Early History of India, J.B.B.R.A.S., 1900, vol.XX, pp.35ff, cf. C.W.B. vol.I, pp.29ff; C.H.I., pp.581ff; E.H.I., pp.272ff; C.I.I., pp.lxxvi-lxxvii; Ep.Ind., XXI, p.259.

128. E.H.I., p.274, f.n.1; C.I.I., p.lxxvi; C.H.I., p.583; A.H.D., p.30.

Stūpa occur in four strata, one above the other; in each stratum a different type of masonry is used in their construction, and with each stratum are associated coins of kings or dynasties indicated in the following table:

Stratum	Masonry construction	Coins
1. Uppermost	Semi-ashlar, semi-diaper	(Vāsudeva and (later Kushāns
2. Second	Large diaper	(Kanishka (that is, (Kanishka I) (Huvishka and ((?)Vāsudeva
3. Third	Small diaper	(Kadphises I (and II
4. Fourth	Rubble and Kanjur	(Śaka and (Pahlavas

In the city of Sirkap, also, precisely the same stratification is found so far as the third, fourth and earlier strata are concerned, but the city was deserted before any buildings of the second and first classes came to be erected, and consequently there are no coins here of Kanishka (that is, Kanishka I), Huvishka or Vāsudeva, but thousands on the other hand of those of Kadphises I and II, of the Śaka and Pahlava kings and of the Greeks."[129] Marshall is of the opinion that the evidence of stratification proves conclusively that the Kadphises group preceded the Kanishka group; but Ghosh points out that "This type of evidence for close ranges is not really so unerring as Sir John would have us believe....." and that "As for the

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129. J.R.A.S., 1915, pp.195-96.

conjectures of Sir John regarding the age of the buildings, they cannot be regarded with too much scepticism" because "The finding out of the date of a structure from consideration of style and materials is too difficult and debatable and the data at our disposal do not warrant anything like precision."[130] However, it can be said that there is now general agreement among scholars regarding the posteriority of the Kanishka group and hence Marshall is ably supported by others in this regard.

The possible date of the death of Kadphises II ranges from A.D.78 to ca.A.D.125.[131] Smith thinks that A.D.110 is perhaps the most probable date, but he admits that one cannot be definite about it.[132] He also holds that Kanishka I ascended the throne in A.D.120.[133] If this is so, then it is evident that there was an interregnum of ten years and we are in total darkness as to what happened in the Kushān kingdom during this period. There is, however, a possibility, as Konow suggests, that after the death of Kadphises II disintegration began to set in the Kushān Empire.[134] Rapson,

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130. I.H.Q., vol.V, No.1, 1929, pp.77-78.

131. C.H.I., pp.581-83; Rapson, I.C., p.18; E.H.I.,p.271; Ep.Ind, XXI, p.258; C.I.I., p.lxxv.

132. E.H.I., p.271.

133. Ibid, pp.272, 274; Whitehead, Catal, p.176.

134. C.I.I., p.lxix

Banerji and other scholars, on the other hand, differ from Konow and Smith and suggest that Kanishka I succeeded Kadphises II immediately after the death of the latter in A.D.78.[135] However, Smith in his opinion is supported by Marshall and Konow. Marshall thinks that Kanishka I became king in the second century A.D. and that there was an interval between Kadphises II and Kanishka I.[136] Konow postulates that "It is even probable that Kadphises II was separated from Kanishka (that is, Kanishka I) by an interval."[137] D.R. and R.G.Bhandarkar and Mazumdar supported the theory that Kanishka I reigned in the third century A.D.,[138] but this view is not tenable. However, all that can be said in this connection is that although it is possible to put Kanishka I in the first century A.D., the forceful arguments of Marshall and Smith and the stupendous industry of Konow in this regard cannot be ignored. Then again, concerning the relations between Kadphises II and Kanishka I, Jayaswal suggests that Kanishka I was the son of Kadphises II[139], but Konow differs

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135. C.H.I., pp.581, 583ff; J.R.A.S., 1924, pp.399ff I.H.Q., IV, 1928, pp.760ff; V, 1929, pp.49ff; I.A., XXXVII, p.72

136. Marshall, C.T., p.19., J.R.A.S., 1914, pp.973ff; ibid, 1915 pp.191ff; A.S.I., A.R., 1912-13, p.8.

137. C.I.I., p.81

138. J.B.B.R.A.S., 20, 1899, pp.269ff; 20, 1900, pp.385ff; I.A., XLVI, 1917, pp.261ff; J.D.L., 1920, pp.65ff.

139. J.B.O.R.S., V, p.511; VI, pp.12-22.

from him and suggests that Kanishka I belonged to the Little Yue-chi and came to India direct from Khotan.[140] Almost certainly Konow is wrong in this, as Bagchi clearly points out "There is .... no reason to think that Kanishka was a Little Yue-chi."[141]

However acute may be the controversy regarding the date of the death of Kadphises II, or of the accession of Kanishka I, or of the alleged disintegration of the empire before Kanishka I's accession, there is no doubt that Kadphises II was followed by Kanishka I, and that he proved to be the greatest of the Kushān kings. There is, also, more or less general agreement among scholars that Kanishka I established an era, though there is no agreement as to whether it is the Saka era of A.D.78 or the so-called Kanishka era of A.D.128-29.[142] In this connection it is clear that the controversy about the dating of the Kushān inscriptions has prevented any general agreement as to the dates of the accession and death of the various Kushān kings.

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140. C.I.I., pp. lxxv, lxxvi; J.R.A.S., 1903, p.334

141. J.G.I.S., vol.X, no 2, July, 1943, p.126.

142. C.H.I.,pp.581, 583ff; Z.D.M.G.,68,1914, p.97; S.B.A., 1916, pp.787ff; Ep.Ind, XIV, 1918, pp.130ff; XXI,p.56; Acta Or, II,1923, pp.130ff; V pp.168 ff; JBBRAS, N.S,1,1, 1925, pp.1ff; I.H.Q, III, 1927, pp.851ff; C.I.I., pp.lxxv-lxxvii, lxxx ff, xciiiff. Since then, Konow has again changed his opinion about the opening date of the reign of Kanishka I and suggested various approximate dates, namely, A.D.130, 138 and even 200; see Leeuw, S.F., pp.6, 16.

It is plain that the name of Kanishka I has been widely preserved by tradition and still lives in the legends of Tibet, China and Mongolia.[143] In the Tibetan tradition he is mentioned as King Kanika.[144] Lévi has drawn attention to the many passages in Chinese texts, which refer to his name.[145] In addition to these, it is, also, interesting to note that he is mentioned in the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.[146] But it is dangerous to rely upon such works for historical materials, as most of these are religious and not historical. Yet it is incontestable that Kanishka's fame lived on for many centuries and that references to his glorious achievements are plentiful in the accounts of Fa-Hien, Hiuen-Tsiang and even Alberuni.[147]

Tradition and the contemporary monuments and inscriptions, both prove that the power of Kanishka I made itself felt all over North Western India, including Kashmīr and the Punjab, probably as far south as the Vindhyas, as well as over the remote regions beyond the Pāmir Passes.

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143. E.H.I., p.271.

144. C.I.I., p.lxxv.

145. J.A., IX, viii, 1896, pp.444ff; IX, ix, 1897, pp.526ff; I.A., xxxii, 1903, pp.381ff; xxxiii, 1904, pp.110ff.

146. J.A., ccxi, 1927, pp.95ff; cf. C.I.I., pp.lxxv, lxxvi, lxxvii.

147. R.B.K., pp.33ff; L.H.T., p.63; Watters, Y.C.T. I., vol.I, pp.270ff; Sachau, A.I., Vol.II, p.11.

Tradition, also, affirms that he was able to extend his sway to the east of India and actually defeated the King of Pāṭaliputra.[148] It is said that he carried off the Buddhist teacher Aśvaghoṣa from that city; Kanishka is, indeed, held to have been a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa, though this Kanishka is probably the Kanishka II of the Āra inscription. The dating of this inscription in the year 41 necessitates a distinction being drawn between the two Kings.[149] Jayaswal is of the opinion that "The Kushān rule existed over Bihar from Kanishka (that is, Kanishka I) up to the time of Vāsudeva."[150] It is generally held that Kanishka I's sovereignty was well-established in Western India through the agency of the Śaka Kshatrapa of Ujjain.[151]

The ambition of Kanishka I was not confined within the bounds of India. Sylvain Lévi, depending on the Chinese sources, says that Kanishka I successfully repulsed the attack of the Parthians.[152] He conquered "Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan, extensive provinces of Chinese Turkistān lying to the north of Tibet and the east of Pāmirs, and at that time, as now, dependencies of China."[153] Hence, it may be

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148. E.H.I., pp.273, 274, 276; C.I.I., p.lxxix.

149. E.H.I., p.276; see Infra, Chapter - Religion and Society.

150. J.B.O.R.S., vi, 1920, p.22.

151. E.H.I., p.276; see also E.A.I.P., pp.137-38 where the extent of his kingdom is given.

152. I.A., 1903, p.382.

153. E.H.I., p.278.

said that he succeeded where his predecessor had failed. He was able to remove the stigma of ignominous failure of Kadphises II and freed himself from the obligation of paying tribute to China. Indeed, he was so successful in his war against China that he received hostages from a state tributary to the Chinese emperor.[154] This story is actually corroborated in the Si-yu-ki where it is, also, said that "Kanishka-rāja having received the hostages treated them with singular attention and ordered for them separate establishments for the cold and hot weather."[155]

There are large numbers of inscriptions bearing the name of Kanishka I and dates that run from the years 1 to 23, which must, therefore, be accepted as his regnal years.[156] According to Barua, it is in the Kushān inscriptions that dates are stated in India for the first time in term of the month and the day of an official era based on the year of accession of the founder of the era.[157] These epigraphic records, consisting mainly of religious bequests, give us the bare chronological outline of Kanishka's reign. The earliest inscription seems to be the Kanishka casket inscription, found in the Kanishka Stūpa, near Peshāwar. This Kharoshṭhī inscription is dated in the first year of

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154. Ibid, p.278.

155. Si-yu-ki, p.56.

156. J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S., Vol.I, No.1, 1925, p.10.

157. I.H.Q., II, 2, 1926, p.124, f.n.1.

his reign, that is, according to Konow's earlier ideas, in A.D.128-29.[158] The next dated inscription is a Brāhmī inscription of the year 2.[159] The Sārnāth inscription (No.III(b)) of the year 3 mentions the names of the mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kshatrapa Vanaspara, who were appointed by Kanishka I to govern his conquered territory in eastern India.[160] Jayaswal thinks that Vanaspara is mentioned in the Purāṇas as Viśvasphaṭi (Ka), Viśvaphāṇi, Vimvasphāti.[161] In the Zeda inscription of the year 11 and the Māṇikyāla inscription of the year 18, the names of certain other government officials are mentioned, namely, the Kshatrapa Liaka, the Kshatrapa Vespasi and the general Lala, who were in charge of the northern regions of Kanishka's empire.[162] Inscriptions bearing the name of Kanishka I have, also, been found in Suī Vihār, near Bahāwalpur, in Sahet-Mahet, on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Districts in the United Provinces,[163] as well as in[164]

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158. C.I.I., pp.lxxvii, p.135ff.

159. Ind.A., July, 1934, p.83.

160. Ep.Ind, VIII, pp.173ff, see esp.p.179; C.I.I., p.lxxvii; see Infra, Chapter III for details.

161. K.P.Jayaswal, History of India, Lahore, 1933, p.41.

162. C.I.I., pp.142, 145, 149-50; see Infra, Chapter III for details.

163. Suī Vihār copper-plate inscription of Kanishka I, year 11, C.I.I., p.141; Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol.III, pt.i, Calcutta University, 1922, pp.459ff.

164. Sahet-Mahet Image inscription of Kanishka I, Ep.Ind, VIII, pp.180ff; Sahet-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff inscription of Kanishka I, Ibid, IX, p.291.

Mathurā.[165] It is interesting to note that in the British Museum stone inscription of Kanishka I of the year 10, written in Brāhmī, the name of the king is given with a peculiar spelling, viz., Kāṇishka.[166]

In the ancient sites of Northern India the coins of Kanishka I are found constantly associated with those of Kadphises II; indeed, this is so from Kābul to Ghāzipur on the Ganges.[167] His copper and gold coins consist of various types, namely, with the Greek title 'Basileos basilēon', together with the Irānian title 'Shāonānoshāo' (ϸAONANOϸAO) and with the title 'Shāo' (ϸAO), and the types King on throne and deity.[168] His coins bear the image of the Buddha and various deities of other religions.[169] These coins demonstrate the remarkable religious eclecticism of Kanishka, who may, therefore, be credited with the profession of all or any of the different forms of faith indicated. Rapson, however, does not agree with this argument. He postulates that "The natural explanation

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165. e.g. Jaina inscription from Mathurā, year 5, Ibid, I, pp.381-82.

166. See line 2 of the inscription, Ibid, IX, p.240.

167. E.H.I., p.275.

168. Whitehead, Catal.pp.186-88, 193; Num.Chron., 3rd series, vol.XII, 1892, p.75; Smith, Catal., pp.69ff.

169. See Infra, Chapter - Religion and Society.

of this diversity is that these various classes of coins were current in different provinces of a large empire..... and the coins, no doubt, reflect the particular form of religion which prevailed in the district in which they were struck."[170] This, however, is only a conjecture and is born out by the actual find-spots of the coins.

It has already been seen that Kanishka I seems to have established his capital in Purushapura, modern Peshāwar.[171] Rhys Davids says, "Mathurā, however, remained the subordinate capital."[172] He may have embraced Buddhism, but the stories relating to his conversion and subsequent zeal for that religion echo the legends about Aśoka. It is, however, difficult to decide how far these legends reflect the actual facts.[173] He is said to have convoked the Buddhist Council in Kashmīr in order to codify the Buddhist Canonical works.[174] It is certain that during his reign Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Greater Vehicle, flourished. In the field of art Gandhāra sculpture gives vivid expression in semi-classical forms of considerable artistic merit to this modified Buddhism.[175] Yet the accounts of the Chinese

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170. Rapson, Catal. C.A.D., p.xii.

171. See Supra, Chapter I.

172. T.W.Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, London, New York, 1903, p.314; see also, P.H.A.I., p.402.

173. E.H.I., p.280; see Infra, Chapter - Religion and Society.

174. C.I.I., p.lxxix; see Infra, Chapter - Religion and Society.

175. E.H.I., pp.282-83; see Infra, Chapter - Kushān Art and Culture.

pilgrims make it plain that the Hīnayāna sect, also, flourished in Gandhāra. As Codrington has pointed out we cannot differentiate between the sects on the sites concern[176].
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The legend regarding his death is given as follows in the Śrī-Dharma-piṭka-saṃpradāya-nidāna: "Wherever the King turned all men bowed before him like herbage under hail. The peoples of three regions came in to make their submission; under the hoofs of the horse ridden by King Kanishka everything either bent or broke. The King said, 'I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me; the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission. If I subjugate it, I shall never again take advantage of an opportunity against anyone, be he who may, but I do not yet know the best way to succeed in the undertaking.' The King's people, having heard these words, took counsel together, and said, 'The King is greedy, cruel and unreasonable; his campaigns and continued conquests have wearied the mass of his servants. He knows not how to be content but wants to reign over the four quaters. The garrisons are stationed on distant frontiers and our relatives are far from us. Such being the situation, we must agree among ourselves, and get rid of him. After that we may be happy.' As he was ill, they covered him with a quilt, a man sat on top of him, and the King died on the spot."[177] This legend is

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176. G.J., vol.XCIII, No.5, May, 1939, p.395.
177. see I.A., 1903, p.388; see E.H.I., pp.285-86.

distinctly flavoured by the Chinese point of view, but seems to embody a real tradition of the wide-flung conquests of the King.

There is controversy among scholars regarding the date in which Kanishka I's reign terminated. It is variously estimated to have fallen on dates ranging from ca. A.D.120 to A.D.160.[178] However, it is clear that after him came Vāsishka, Huvishka and the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription. Vāsishka and Huvishka were the sons of Kanishka I[179] and the former may have been the elder brother of the latter.[180] Inscriptions prove that Vāsishka succeeded Kanishka I about the year 24 and that his reign continued up to the year 28.[181] From the inscriptions it can, also, be inferred that his sway extended over Mathurā and Eastern Mālwa.[182] The father of the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 is stated to have been Vajheshka, who may be identified with Vāsishka.[183] Both Vāsishka and Huvishka ruled over Kashmīr and in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, as has already been noted,[184] it is said that three kings, called Hushka,

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178. Num. Chron., 3rd series, p.45; I.A., vol.XXXVII, 1908, p.73; E.H.I., p.286; C.I.I., p.lxxviii; I.H.Q., Vol.III No.4, 1927, p.854.

179. E.H.I., p.286.

180. C.I.I., p.lxxx.

181. Ibid, p.lxxxi; see Isapur inscription of the year 24, Lüders List No.149a, Ep.Ind, X, Appendix, p.174; Sāñchī Buddhist Image inscription, year 28, Ibid, II, pp.369-70.

182. cf. P.H.A.I., p.398.

183. C.I.I., p.163.

184. See Supra, Chapter I.

Jushka and Kanishka, built in Kashmīr three towns, Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura, which were named after them. It is further recorded that "That wise King 'Jushka', who built 'Jushkapura' with its vihāra, was also the founder of 'Jayasvāmipura'. These Kings who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the 'Turuṣka' race, built at 'Suskaletra' and other places Mathas, Caityas and similar (structures)."[185] Scholars think that Kalhaṇa is definitely wrong about the chronology of the three Kings; but, in this connection, it must, also, be noted that they differ among themselves regarding the identification of these Kings. This controversy is by no means closed even now. Konow, however, identifies Jushka with Vāsishka, Hushka with Huvishka and Kanishka with the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription, who was not Kanishka I, being the son of Vāsishka.[186] In the account given by the Rājataraṅgiṇī, it is evident that Jushka, that is, Vāsishka, is prominent, and hence it can be inferred that he may have been the first Kushān emperor to reside in Kashmīr.[187] He did not, however, mint money, and Konow tries to explain this extraordinary omission in the following way, "He was probably the son of

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185. K.R., vol.I, Bk.I, 169-70, pp.30,31; see Supra, Chapter I.

186. C.I.I., p.lxxx. Regarding the controversy of the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription, see Infra.

187. C.I.I., p.lxxx.

Kanishka, since his own son bears the same name, and succeeded his father in the natural course of events, wherefore he did not issue coins in his own name."[188]; but this is not a convincing explanation of the absence of coins.

After Vāsishka came Huvishka, whose reign was undoubtedly a long one, for the dates of his inscriptions range from 28 to 60; but it is noticeable that the Ārā inscription of the year 41 of Kanishka II falls between these years and, since it does so, there is apparent an overlapping of the reigns of these Kings. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the wording of the Rājataraṅgiṇī might lead us to think that Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka reigned simultaneously.[189] Lüders postulates that after Vāsishka's death there was a division of the empire, Kanishka II taking possession of the northern portion of the Kushān territory, whereas Huvishka ruled in the eastern half of the empire, that is, India proper. It seems that in course of time at any rate by San 51 Huvishka must have extended his power to the northwest beyond the frontier hills, for in this year he is given royal titles as a King in the Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase

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188. Ibid, p.lxxxi.

189. K.R., Introduction, p.64., see also the note of Bk.I, 168, p.30.

inscription, written in Kharoshthī.[190] It is to be noted that Khwat (Wardak) is about thirty miles to the west of Kābul and there is, therefore, doubt that Huvishka's influence extended beyond this region. Lüders is not very clear in his statement with regard to this; he does not expressly say what area he refers to in his statement that after Vāsishka's death Kanishka II took possession of the northern half of the empire, which was ultimately held under the sway of Huvishka. Konow, however, accepts Lüders' thesis and tries to furnish more details about the events, that took place before Huvishka became the effective King over whole of the empire. Konow goes on to say, "After Vāsishka's succession to the position of emperor, or after his death, he (that is, Huvishka) seems to have become governor or viceroy in the eastern provinces, at least as early as the year 33.[191] It is noticeable that he is not characterized as emperor (rājātirāja) before the year 40. Until then he is simply styled as 'mahārāja devaputra'. It is, therefore, possible to assume that he did not make himself independent before that date and that may have been

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190. I.A., vol.XLII, 1913, p.135; also Konow, J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S., 1925, pp.10-11; for the inscription see J.R.A.S., XX, pp.231-68, Ep.Ind.,XI, p.210f; C.I.I., p.170.

191. See the Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription of the year 33, Ep.Ind.,VIII, p.181f. It is, however, interesting to note that the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 28 shows that Huvishka was all powerful in Mathurā almost immediately after the death of Vāsishka, Ep.Ind., XXI, pp.58, 60.

the occasion when he began to issue coins in his own name."[192]

Scholars differ among themselves as to the exact period of Huvishka's reign. The possible date of his accession is held to range from ca. A.D.110 to ca. A.D.160. and the date of his death from ca. A.D.140 to ca. A.D.182.[193] Due to the difficulties in transliteration his name is written in several variant forms, namely, Hushka,[194] Ho (or Hu)veshka,[195] Huvaksha,[196] Huvashka[197] and Huveshki.[198] Konow, on the basis of the account given in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, holds that as a general of Kanishka I, he showed his valour by conquering Kashmīr.[199] It seems that the Kushān power suffered no diminution in his reign and he was able to maintain the unique position achieved by his father Kanishka I.[200] The Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase inscription of the year 51 indicates that his empire included the Kābul valley and[201]

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192. C.I.I., p.lxxxi; see also J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S.1925, p.12.

193. For the various views, see Num.Chron., 3rd series, Vol. XII, 1892, p.49; I.A., 1908, vol.XXXVII, p.73; Rapson, I.C., p.18, E.H.I., pp.294, 288.

194. K.R., vol.I, Bk.I, 168, p.30.

195. The Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase inscription of the year 51, for references see Supra.

196. The Lucknow Museum Jain Image inscription of the year 48, Ep.Ind., X, p.112, No.5.

197. The Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription of the year 51, Ibid, p.113, No.6.

198. Num.Chron., 3rd series, Vol.XII, 1892, p.98, cf.Smith, Catal., pp.75, 76.

199. C.I.I., pp.lxxx, lxxxi.

200. Whitehead, Catal., p.174; E.H.I., p.288.

201. for references, see Supra.

other inscriptions make it plain that it included Mathurā.[202] The Rājatarangiṇī, also, includes Kashmīr in his empire.[203] Smith conjectures that "The southern frontier of the Indian dominions of Kanishka (that is, Kanishka I) and Huvishka probably was the Narbadā (Narmadā, Nerbudda) river"[204], but there does not seem to be any very clear evidence as to this, probable as it is.

Huvishka, like his father, minted money in gold and copper, and the large number of his coins, found in North West India, indicates the prosperity and power of his rule in this region, which was the centre of Kushān power in India.[205] His coins bear legends in Greek alone, with the sole exception of the unique bi-lingual copper coin, which, Cunningham suggests, contains the name of Huvishka.[206] They vary in type, but generally bear the bust of King and deity, elephant-rider, King reclining on couch and deity, King seated to front, cross-legged and deity, King seated with head to right, King seated with both arms raised, and large head of the King covered with a round jewelled helmet.[207] Like

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202. Some of these inscriptions are - The Mathurā Stone inscription, year 28, Ep.Ind.XXI,p.60; The Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription, year 33, for references see Supra; The Mathurā Jain Image inscription,year 44, Ep.Ind.,I,p.387,No.9; Ibid, X,p.114,No.7; The Lucknow Museum Jain Image inscription, year 48,for references, see Supra; The Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription,year 51, for referehces, see Supra.

203. K.R., for references, see Supra.

204. Smith, Catal., p.64.

205. Whitehead, Catal., pp.174, 175.

206. Num.Chron.,3rd series, vol.XII, 1892, p.82.

207. Whitehead,Catal.,pp.194ff198,202,204-06;Smith Catal.pp. 76ff; Num.chron.,3rd series, vol.XII,1892, p.98,C.J., Brown,Coins of India,Calcutta,1922(The Heritage of India Series), p.36

Kanishka I he was a great patron of Buddhism and his coins, as Smith says, exhibit, "An eclectic taste for a strange medley of Greek, Indian and Persian deities."[208]

It has already been noted that the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 was different from the famous Kanishka I. There is, however, great controversy on this point. Smith refuses to admit that there were two Kanishkas and hence the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was not different from the great Kanishka I.[209] Lüders, on the other hand, thinks that the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was a son of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I.[210] Others scholars like Konow, Fleet, Kennedy, Kimura and Raychaudhuri, also, distinguish between the two Kanishkas.[211] In this connection it must be made clear that there is not a single inscription of Kanishka I, which can be referred to the period 24 to 40 of the era used by the Kushān kings. Thus, it is obvious that the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 cannot be identified with Kanishka I of the years 1 to 23. As the Kanishka of the Rājataraṅgiṇī has been identified with the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription, it is probable that it was Kanishka II, and not Kanishka I who founded the town Kanishkapura in Kashmīr,[212] and a cursory survey of various Kushān sites in Kashmīr suggests a later rather than an earlier date.

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208. E.H.I., p.287; Whitehead, Catal., p.175; see Infra, chapter - Religion and Society.

209. E.H.I., p.286.

210. I.A., vol.XLII, 1913, p.135; see also Supra.

211. C.I.I., pp.lxxx, p.163; J.R.A.S., 1913, p.98; Ibid, p.1059, I.H.Q., Vol.I, No.3, 1925, p.417, P.H.A.I., p.399.

212. P.H.A.I., p.399; see Supra, Chapter I.

Huvishka was succeeded by Vāsudeva I, who was the last notable king of Kanishka's line. Scholars differ regarding the dates of his accession and of the termination of his reign. Estimates for the former vary from ca.A.D.140 to A.D.199 and the latter from ca. A.D.176 to A.D.213. 222. The inscriptions of Vāsudeva I range in date from the year 74 to 98 of the era used by the Kushān kings. According to Raychaudhuri, it is quite probable that he gradually lost control over the north-western portion of the Kushān Empire, as all his inscriptions have been found only in the Mathurā region.[214] This conjecture is perhaps conclusive if we consider the opinions of Cunningham and Smith side by side. Cunningham says, "Three of his gold coins were found in a ruined Stūpa, below Ali Masjid, and there were a large number of them in the treasure trove of about 1,200 dinars found at Peshāwar. They are common also all over the Punjab and in North-west India."[215] Smith thinks that, "The Kushān power must have been decadent during the latter part of the long reign of Vāsudeva, and apparently before its close, or immediately after that event, the vast empire of Kanishka obeyed the usual law governing Oriental monarchies, and broke up into fragments, having enjoyed a brief period of splendid unity."[216] Vāsudeva I minted money in both

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213. I.A., vol.XXXVII, 1908, p.73; P.H.A.I., p.399; J.B.O.R.S., vi, p.22; E.H.I., p.288, Smith,Catal.,p.84

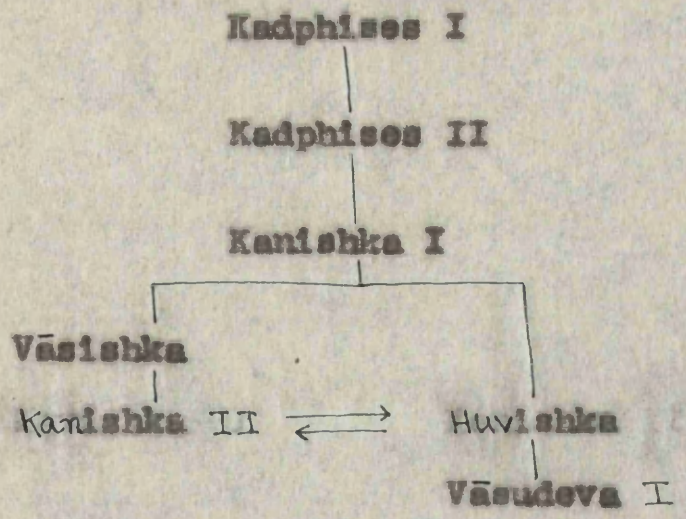
214. P.H.A.I., p.400.

215. Num.Chron., 3rd series, Vol.XII, 18 92, p.50.

216. E.H.I., p.288.

gold and copper.[217] His name is given on his coins as Bazodeo or Baz Deo.[218] The coin-types are mainly as follows: King at altar and Śiva with bull, King at altar and seated goddess, and King at altar and Śiva without bull. The legend used is - Bazodeo, the Kushān, King of Kings (ϷAONANO ϷAO BAZOΔHO KOϷANO).[219] Smith postulates that "Coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away."[220]

The chronology of the Kushān Kings so far discussed may be summarised thus:-



It has been observed that towards the close of Vāsudeva's reign, or immediately after his death, the greatness of the Kushān Empire began to dwindle gradually. In

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217. Whitehead, Catal., p.174.

218. Ibid, p.208; Num.Chron., 3rd series, vol.XII, 1892, p.125.

219. Whitehead, Catal, pp.208, 210; Smith, Catal, p.84; Num.Chron., 3rd series, vol.XII, 1892, p.123.

220. E.H.I., p.288.

spite of Smith's insistence, the history of the decline of the Kushān power is not known in detail due to the lack of materials. However, the subsequent history of the Kushāns and the Yue-chi can be reconstructed to a certain degree by depending as far as possible on the numismatic evidence, inscriptions, Chinese records and other sources. Among the successors of Vāsudeva I, the names of a few princes can be traced. Whitehead in his catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum describes the coin-types of a Kanishko, who is obviously a third Kanishka, and of a Vasu.[221] Konow has drawn our attention to the fact that "We know from Chinese sources that the Ta Yue-chi Pa-tiao sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230 and received the title "King of the Ta Yue-chi allied to the Wei." According to Chavannes, Pa-tiao can very well be identified with Vāsudeva."[222] Considering the date of the embassy, the King mentioned cannot be identified with Vāsudeva I. Most probably a later Kushān King is intended here.

It is to be noted that in the middle of the third century A.D. there existed, as pointed out in the Chinese Wei Lio, no less than three independent, although apparently allied, states, whose rulers boasted their descent from the glorified Kanishka I. These kingdoms were situated in Kābul,

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221. Whitehead, Catal., pp.211-12.

222. C.I.I., p.lxxvii.

Ki-pin and North Western India.[223]

Ferishta in his introduction records an invasion of India in the later Kushān period by Ardeshīr Bābagān (226-41 A.D.), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. He says, "One year Ardeshīr Bābagān marched against India and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sarhind. Jūnah[224] was very much alarmed and hastened to do homage to him. He presented pearls and gold and jewels and elephants as tribute[225] and so induced Ardeshīr to retire."

This chain of somewhat disconnected events makes it clear that there was trouble in the Kushān Empire after the death of Vāsudeva I and that the decadence was gradually setting in. Moreover, the Nāgas became the successors of the Great Kushāns in Mathurā and its adjoining regions. In the third and fourth centuries A.D. the Nāgas established their sovereignty over a considerable portion of northern and central India. This fact is supported by epigraphic records. A Lahore Copper Seal inscription[226] mentions the name of Mahārāja Maheśvaranāga. The Allahābād Posthumous Stone Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta records the name of Ganapatināga.[227] In addition to these, several Vākātaka records

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223. J.R.A.S., 1913, pp.1060ff. The geographical identifications are Kennedy's.

224. Jūnah may be identified with Yauvan, according to Jayaswal, H.I., p.50.

225. Elliot and Dowson, Feristha, vi, p.55 as quoted by Smith, E.H.I., p.289, f.n.3.

226. J.F.Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1888, p.283.

227. Ibid, pp.7, 13.

mention Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of the Bharaśivas, whose descendant Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II.[229] Thus, it is evident that Bhavanāga ruled long before the political domination of the Imperial Guptas. The Chammak Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II, dated in the eighteenth year of his government, records that the royal line of Bhavanāga performed ten aśvamedha sacrifices.[230] This clearly shows the power of these Kings. Jayaswal says that these 'aśvamedhas' were performed at the cost of the Kushān Empire and that this historical gloss, written in the orthodox Hindu fashion, sums up the breaking-up of the Kushān Empire.[231] It was clearly because of the social prestige of the Nāgas in the fourth century A.D. that Chandra Gupta II married a princess of the family.

Though the Kushāns lost their foothold in the interior of India, they continued to rule in the Kābul valley and parts of the Indian borderland. It is plain that at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. they were in close relationship with Sassanian Persia. Indeed, on a number of coins the Sassanian King Hormazd II is actually styled as

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228. Chammak Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II, dated in the eighteenth year of his government, Ibid, p.241; Siwani Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II, dated in the eighteenth year of his government, Ibid, p.248.

229. P.H.A.I., p.402.

230. Fleet, Co.In.I., p.241.

231. Jayaswal, H.I., p.5.

the King of the Kushāns, 'Kushān malkān malkā'.[232] Cunningham suggests that the Kushān prince made peace with Hormazd II by giving him a daughter in marriage and the title 'Kushān malkān malkā' refers to such an alliance.[233] Though Cunningham has been supported by other scholars, yet it can be said that the superscription of the coins issued suggests actual political domination. Moreover, Rapson points out that Sassanian names and head-dresses appear on the later Kushān coins.[234] In any case, the fact that the Kushāns issued Sassanian types of coins plentifully makes it plain that there was considerable trade between the Kābul valley and Persia, and even suggests that the Kushāns were economically dependent on the Sassanians.

Smith says, "When Sapor II besieged Amida in A.D.360,[235] his victory over the Roman garrison was won with the aid of Indian elephants and Kushān troops under the command of their aged King Grumbates, who occupied the place of honour, and was supported by the Sakas of Sīstān."[236] Thus, among the successors of Vāsudeva I the names of four princes are so far referred by various sources, and these are Kanishko (Kanishka III), Vasu, Pa-tiao and Grumbates.[237]

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232. Num. Chron., 3rd series, vol.XIII, 1893, p.169.

233. Ibid, p.171. The parallel implied seems to be with Seleucus Nicator's treaty with Chandragupta Maurya.

234. Rapson, I.C., p.19.

235. Kennedy gives the date as A.D.350, whereas Herzfeld supports Smith, J.R.A.S., 1913, p.1062; Memoirs A.S.I., 1938, p.36.

236. E.H.I., p.290.

237. P.H.A.I., p.400, f.n.1.

However, Sassanian supremacy was soon replaced by that of the Imperial Guptas. This is clearly evident from the Allahābād Posthumous Stone Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, which mentions the "Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi", who must be identified with a Kushān monarch or monarchs ruling in the North west Provinces. The Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi greeted Samudra Gupta, as the inscription records, by sending valuable presents to him.[238] The use of the high sounding Kushān titles indicates that the Kushāns, though declining in their imperial power during that period, were still given a certain amount of respect.

In the fifth century A.D. a Kidāra Kushān King who was known to the Chinese as Ki-to-lo, established his rule over Gandhāra and the adjacent country, including Kashmīr.[239] Cunningham says, "The coins of the Little Kushāns are of considerable interest, as they begin with KIDĀRA or KI-TO-LO, the 'Shahi' of the 'Ta-Yue ti' or Great Kushāns, who founded the Kingdom of the Little Yue ti in Gandhāra about A.D.425 to 430."[240] He further goes on to say, "Ki-to-lo' himself is said to have conquered five different countries or provinces to the north of Gandhāra (Kandahār). No names are given;

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238. Num.Chron., 3rd series, Vol.XIII, 1893, p.118; J.R.A.S. 1913, p.1062, f.n.; see J.A.S.B., N.S., vol.IV, 1908, No.3, p.87; for the inscription see Fleet, Co.In.I., pp.8,14.

239. J.R.A.S., 1913, p.1064; Rapson. I.C., p.20; Smith, Catal., pp.64, 89.

240. Num.Chron., 3rd series, vol.XIII, 1893, p.184.

but I conclude that his Kingdom included "Ghazni" and "Kābul" on the west, with "Nagarahāra" and "Chitrāl" in the middle, and the "Gandhāra" with "Udyana" on the east"[241]. It still remains to be seen how far Cunningham is right in constructing the history of the period in this manner. His use of the terms Ta-Yue-chi, Great Kushāns, and Little Kushāns is open to question. It does not seem that he is here referring to the original splitting up of the Yue-chi horde, but to development subsequent to the decline of the historic Kushān supremacy in Northern India. The coins of Kidāra Kushāns will be referred to later.

Towards the end of the fifth century the Little Kushāns, or 'Kidāritae' (that is, the descendants of Kidāra), were expelled from Gandhāra by an inroad of the Ephthalites or White Huns. They retired to the north into Chitrāl and Gilgit to the west of the Indus, and to Pakhali and Kashmīr to the east of the river[242]. Brown says, "There they struck coins in much.....alloyed gold and also in copper of..... standing-king and seated-goddess type."[243] They, also, minted money in silver as is shown by the coins of Kidāra.[244] The Kidāra Kushāns established their kingdom once again on the Upper Indus after the defeat of the Hūna Mihirakula.[245]

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241. Ibid, p.186.

242. Ibid, p.187.

243. Brown, Coi.I. p.37.

244. Num.Chron., 3rd series, vol.XIII, 1893, pp.186, 199.

245. Rapson, I.C., p.20.

The subsequent political history of the North west is fragmentary. In the following centuries the Kushāns had to fight hard against the Muslims. Raychaudhuri says, "In the ninth century A.D. a powerful Muslim dynasty, that of the Saffārids, was established in Sīstān (Seestān) and the sway of the family soon extended to Ghazni, Zābulistān, Herāt, Balkh and Bāmiān. The later kings of the race of Kanishka seem to have had one residence in Gandhāra at the city of Und, Ohind, Waihind or Udabhānda, on the Indus. Another capital was situated in the Kābul valley. The family was finally extinguished by the Brāhmaṇa Shāhiyya dynasty towards the close of the ninth century A.D. A part of the Kingdom of Kābul fell into the hands of Alptigin in the tenth century."[246]

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246. P.H.A.I., p.403.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The materials available for the construction of the administrative system of the Kushān Empire are scanty. Still attempts are made in this chapter to study it by utilising all available sources, however scrappy these may be.

In the Kushān Empire the form of government was monarchial and the law of succession was, obviously, patriarchal. The king was the supreme head of the state. Indeed, the Kushān kings introduced the most exalted type of kingship. Codrington says, "They seem to have permanently influenced the institution of Indian kingship."[1] Raychaudhuri has attributed two facts, which make apparent this exaltation of the monarchy under the Kushāns. According to him, these are "The assumption of high-sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers."[2]

The deification of rulers and the use of long titles are, however, not unknown to India, even before the Kushān conquest. Speaking of the divinity of kings in general Hocart says, " The earliest known religion is a belief in the divinity of kings. I do not say that it is necessarily

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1. K.de B.Codrington, The Minor Arts of India, p.176, in Indian Art, ed. by Sir R.Winstedt, London.

2. Raychaudhuri., P.H.A.I., p.433

the most primitive; but, in the earliest records known, man appears to us worshipping gods and their earthly representatives, namely kings. We have no right, in the present state of our knowledge, to assert that the worship of gods preceded that of kings; we do not know. Perhaps there never were any gods without kings, or kings without gods. When we have discovered the origin of divine kingship we shall know, but at present we only know that when history begins there are kings, the representatives of gods."[3] The Mauryan king Aśoka, who, as is well known, ruled over a vast territory in India, was content with the title of Devānampiya Piyadasi, that is, Of Gracious Mien, Beloved of the Gods; this title is also found in the Sinhalese records. However, soon after the Mauryan period, with the advent of the Kushāns, the king became not a beloved of the gods, but a god and styled himself as a Devaputra, that is, the son of the Heaven.[4] Numerous Kushān inscriptions, both in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī, prove

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3. A.M.Hocart, Kingship, (The Thinker's Library, no.82), London, 1941, p.1.

4. cf. D.R.Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity, (The Manindra Chandra Nandy Lecture, 1925, delivered in February 1925), Benares, Hindu University, 1929, p.157.

the use of the title Devaputra.[5] It is interesting to note that the origin of this title can be traced in China. The term Devaputra is the rendering of the title 'tien-tzu'[6] used by the Chinese emperors. Thomas, however, does not admit of such a rendering and postulates that Devaputra is an Indian term, which occurs in the Rigveda.[7] He bases his thesis on the fact that the Kushān kings did not use the title on their coins and that it can only be traced in the inscriptions of the period. He concludes that "It must be that devaputra was not a title but a complimentary epithet, current only among the Indian subjects of the Kushāns and therefore with its Indian meaning."[8] Though his argument may apparently seem to be of weight, it cannot be denied that the title was used as an official designation of the

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5. Some of these inscriptions are - Taxila Silver Scroll inscription, year 136, C.I.I., p.77; Sui Vihār Copper-plate inscription, year 11, Ibid, p.141; Ārā stone inscription, year 41, Ibid, p.165; Sahet-Mahet Buddhist Image inscription, Ep.Ind; viii, p.180f; Mathurā Image inscription, year 33, Ibid, p.182; Mathurā Image inscription, year 7, Lüders List no 21, Ibid, X, Appendix, p.4; Mathurā Stone inscription, year 74, Ibid, IX, p.242; British Museum Stone inscription year 10, Ibid, p.240; Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription, year 51, Ibid. X, p.113, no.6; Mathurā Stone inscription year 28, Ibid, XXI, p.60f; Sāñchī Buddhist Image inscription, year 78, Ibid, II, pp. 369-70; Mathurā Jaina Image inscription, year 5, Lüders List, no 18, Ibid, X, Appendix, pp.3, 4.
6. J.R.A.S., 1897, p.903; 1912, pp.671, 682; I.A., XLII, 1913, p.136.
7. B.C.L.V., pt II, p.306.
8. Ibid, p.308

kings, a fact which is obvious from the inscriptions. Moreover, the deification of the Kushān kings has a close connection with Mahāyāna Buddhism in which the Buddha is represented as a God, or rather a kingly saviour. The Kushān Kings, also, used the nimbus, aureole, clouds or flames on their coins in order to indicate their divine origin.[9] Excavations in Khotan have unearthed Kushān official documents in which the Kings are introduced as Devamanushya-Saṁpūjita, that is, honoured by gods and men, and Prachachha-Devata (Sk. Pratyaksha-devata), that is, a divinity incarnate.[10]

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is amply illustrated by the practice of erecting Devakulas. The term Devakula is interpreted by Jayaswal as meaning 'a royal gallery of portrait statues.'[11] An undated inscription from Mathurā refers to the repair of such a Devakula of the grandfather of Huvishka.[12] In this connection the interesting conjecture made by Raychaudhuri may be noted. He says, "The existence of royal Devakulas as well as ordinary temples and the presence of the living Devaputra probably earned for Mathurā its secondary name of 'The city of the gods.'"[13]

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(9) Bhandarkar, S.A.A.H.P., p.162
(10) Ibid, pp.162-63, f.n.3
(11) J.B.O.R.S., March 1919, pp.98-99
(12) J.R.A.S., 1924, pp.402-05.
(13) Raychaudhuri, P.H.A.I., p.434.

It is often observed that in India, as elsewhere, the imperial title of one period loses much of its glamour in the succeeding period when it is used by way of designating some subordinate rulers. The Mauryan king Aśoka used the title Rājā, which becomes a feudatory title in later periods, when designations such as Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, came into general use. These new imperial titles are recorded in numerous inscriptions.[14] Of these two titles, Mahārāja is a genuine Indian title, but Rājātirāja, as Lüders points out, is "The translation of the Middle Persian royal designation 'Shāonāno Shāo', which we meet with on the coins of Kanishka; Huvishka and Vāsudeva".[15] He has, also, drawn our attention to the fact that the title Kaisara (Caesar) used by the Kushān King Kanishka II, is Roman.[16] Thus it is clear that by using the titles of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kaisara the Kushān King personified Indian, Persian, Chinese and Roman ideas

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14. Some of these inscriptions are: Sahet-Mahet Buddhist Image inscription, see Supra; Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription, year 33, see Supra; Mathurā Stone inscription, year 74, see Supra; British Museum Stone inscription, year 10, see Supra; Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription, year 51, see Supra; Sāñchī Buddhist Image inscription, year 78, see Supra; Ārā Stone inscription, year 41, see Supra; Taxila Silver Scroll inscription, year 136, see Supra; Sui Vihār Copper-plate inscription, year 11, see Supra; Sārnāth Buddhist Image inscription, year 3, Ep.Ind., VIII, p.173ff; Jaina inscription from Mathurā, year 48, Ibid, X, p.112, no.5; Mathurā Image inscription, year 80, Ibid, p.116, no.10; Māṇikyāla Stone inscription, year 18, C.I.I., p.149f; Kanishka Casket inscription, year 1, Ibid, p.137; Zeda inscription, year 11, Ibid, p.145; Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase inscription, year 51, Ibid, p.170; Khalatse Stone inscription, year 187, Ibid, p.81.

15. I.A., XLII, 1913, p.136.

16. Ibid. It survives in Tibetan legend.

of kingship. In this connection, it is interesting to note the explanation given by Lüders for this heaping up of epithets by Kanishka II. He says, "These were calculated to mark the monarch as the lord of the whole world. 'Mahārāja' is the King of India, the ruler of the South. As against him we have 'Rājātirāja,' the King of the Northern country. That properly speaking Irān lies to the North-west of India, and not exactly to the North, need not be considered as prejudicial to our explanation, in-as-much-as we have to deal here with the cardinal points in a general way only. The term 'Devaputra' marks the ruler of the East. To him is opposed the 'Kaisara' or sovereign of the West. Thus the Kushān king is a 'Sarvalogaiśvara', as runs the title on the coins of the two Kadphises. This idea appears to be an Indian one."[17]

Other titles used by Kushān Kings are: Kushana Yavugasa Dharmathidasa, Sachadharmathita Khusanasa Yasasa, Shāonānoshāo, Shāo, Shāhi, Sarvaloga Iśvara Mahiśvara.[18]

Beni Prasad sees in the writing of Aśvaghoṣa a possible reference to Kanishka's policy with regard to his kingly duties. He says, "In his Saundara Nandam Kāvyam Aśvaghoṣa testifies to the supreme need, the indispensability, of the kingship. But the sceptre is always to be

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17. Ibid; the terms in the inscription are clear, though Lüders' argument is somewhat vague.

18. See Supra, Chapter II, Ep.Ind, XXI, p.60.

wielded for the sake of virtue, and not for the sake of selfish gratification. The king should be the guide and teacher of his subjects."[19] His comment is acceptable in so far as we find that the Kushān Kings had great personal qualities. They patronized religious activities and founded many vihāras and stūpas, the remains of which have been excavated. Tradition has it that they were devoted to learning; Hiuen-Tsiang relates how enthusiastically Kanishka I studied the Buddhist scriptures.[20] It was the love of learning and his religious interest that made clear to Kanishka the existing controversial state of Buddhism and this ultimately led to the convocation of the Buddhist Council in Kashmīr. The Kushān kings, also, patronized a number of famous, learned men of their time, and among whom Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra, Pārśva and Caraka must be mentioned. They showed remarkable enthusiasm in the field of art and the numerous sculptures of Mathurā and Gandhāra and, also, the architectural remains bear ample testimony of the prosperity of the time.[21] The inscriptions give us no information on the point but tradition has it that they were generous in their dispositions and made many donations and gifts. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Kanishka I, after the conclusion of the

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19. Beni Prasad, The State in Ancient India, Allahabad, 1928, pp.233-34.

20. See Infra, Chapter - Religion and Society.

21. See Infra, Chapter - Kushān Art and Culture.

business of the Buddhist Council, renewed Aśoka's donation of the kingdom of Kashmīr to the Church.[22] The Rājataraṅginī records, as has already been noted, the establishment of towns by the Kushān kings in Kashmīr.[23] Although there is little contemporary evidence to support the tradition, yet the tradition itself is so strong that it may, perhaps, be said that the Kushān kings were honoured and respected by their subjects for manifold personal qualities and virtues, which made the kingdom the great culture centre of India at the period.

Like the Kings, the Princes, too, had a part to play in administering the kingdom. It can be observed that great care was taken to train up the Princes so that when they ascended the throne, they might discharge the duties of kingship properly. This is clear from the fact that they were often appointed as viceroy or governor of a particular province. It may be assumed that they used to hold such high offices solely for the purpose of receiving practical training in the art of administration. Sometimes they were, also, appointed as generals in the army. According to Konow, Huvishka was a governor or viceroy in the eastern provinces before he became an emperor. As a general of Kanishka I, he showed his valour and ability by conquering Kashmīr.[24]

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22. See Infra, Chapter - Religion and Society.

23. See Supra, Chapters I and II.

24. See Supra, Chapter II.

The Kushān period bears ample testimony of the existence of Diarchy. Under this system the administration is usually carried on by the sovereign's brother, son, grandson or nephew as co-ruler; such a system existed when Huvishka and Kanishka II ruled the vast empire as co-rulers.[25]

There exist some distinctive features in the administrative system of the Kushān Kings. It has already been observed that before their intrusion into India, the Kushāns travelled through many countries. Naturally they were influenced by some of the institutions prevalent in those countries. Their contacts with Persia must have been of long standing. We find that in their empire there existed the Persian system of government by Satraps. The vast empire was split up into major and minor provinces, ruled by Mahākshatrapas and Kshatrapas. The Kushān records reveal the names of some of these high officials. The Sārnāth Inscription (no.III (b)) of the year 3 shows that Kanishka I governed his conquered territory in eastern India including the Benares region through the Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kshatrapa Vanashpara. The script of the inscription is Brāhmī and the text runs: "(This gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka (namely an image of) Bodhisattva, has been erected by the

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25. See Supra, Chapter II.

great Śatrap Kharapallāna together with the Śatrap Vanashpara (mahākshatrapena Kharapallānena sahā Kshatrapena Vanashparena)".[26] Sircar points out that Kshatrapas were provincial governors and that "The relation between the Mahākshatrapa and Kshatrapa was something like that between the Rājan and the Yuvarāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations."[27]

The name of another official, namely, Kshatrapa Liaka, is mentioned in the Kharoshṭhī inscription which was found in Zeda, near Uṇḍ, Punjab. This inscription of the year 11, records that "Anno 11, on the 20.d. of the month Āshāḍha, in Uttaraphalguna, at this term, a well was dug, during the reign of the Lord, the Marjhaka Kanishka, and further a water-giver, the gift of Hipea Dhia, for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda, in honouring of the Kshatrapa Liaka (pujaṇe Liakasa Ksha[tra]pasa), for the benefit of his mother. Made is the gift through the favour of the elder Saṅghamitrarāja."[28]

Again, another Kharoshṭhī inscription, found in Māṇikyāla, Rāwalpindi District, Punjab, records the names of the general Lala and the Kshatrapa Vespasi, who were in charge of the northern regions of Kanishka I's empire. The

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26. See Supra, Chapter II.

27. Sircar, S. In, pp.112, f.n.2

28. C.I.I., pp.142, 145; see Supra, Chapter II.

text of this inscription, dated in the year 18, runs - "Anno 18, on the 20. day in the month of Kārttika, on this first (tithi) during the reign of the mahārāja Kaṇeshka, the general Lala, the scion of the Gushāṇa race, the donation master of the Kshatrapa Vespasi (Gushaṇavaśasa-ṁvardhaka Lala daḍaṇayago Vespaśisa Kshatrapasa)-he is his donation master in his own Vihāra - establishes several relics of the Lord Buddha, together with a triad: Vespaśia the Khudachian, Burita the Vihāra architect, and with the whole chapter. Through this root of bliss, together with the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, may it for ever be for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi. (He was also associated) with Burita, the repairing architect."[29].

According to Konow, Kadphises II appointed the so-called Western Kshatrapas as his viceroy, who held sway in Surāshtra and Mālava. Konow, also, holds that Kanishka I established his sovereignty in Western India through the agencies of the Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain.[30].

The study of the political history of the period makes it plain that, immediately after the conquest of a territory, the Kushān kings from time to time appointed a military viceroy to govern the new state. This practice is clearly manifested by Kadphises II when he appointed a

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29. C.I.I., pp.149-50; see Supra, Chapter II. The reading of this inscription is considerably controversial.

30. See Supra, Chapter II.

military viceroy to administer his newly conquered Indian territory. This military viceroy may have had the authority to issue coins, for the large issues of coins known as those of the Nameless King have been attributed to him. Smith holds that the title Soter Megas was used both by Kadphises II and the Nameless King, but that the former described himself as Basileus Basileōn, that is, King of Kings, while the latter calls himself basileus basileuōn, that is, reigning King. It is, therefore, clear that the Nameless King, who was himself a reigning king, was actually subordinate to Kadphises II, who has the title of King of Kings.[31] Rapson thinks that the Kushān military governors were designated in Greek as Strategos, and that there is a close connection between the title Strategos and the title Soter Megas. According to him, the coins bearing the title Soter Megas were the anonymous issues of successive Strategoi,[32] though this conventional use of the title is not very convincing.

The designation of high military officials is mentioned in the Māṇikyāla inscription of the year 18. The title used is Daṇḍanāyaka, written as Daḍanayago.[33] Beni Prasad says that the title may denote a general, but that it is more probable that it is the designation of a judicial official.[34] He is, however, not supported by other

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31. E.H.I., p.268 f.n.1.

32. C.H.I., p.581.

33. See Supra.

34. S.A.I., p.23.

scholars. Such a Daṇḍanāyaka was in charge of the northern regions of Kaniṣhka I's empire.[35] Another title, namely, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, was used in order to denote military officials, who were higher in rank than the Daṇḍanāyaka. The Mathurā Stone inscription dated in the year 74 mentions such an officer.[36] It is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times.

The successful invasion of India and the later conquests in India made by the Kushān Kings prove the supremacy of their military strategy. It is obvious that the military department of the government was highly efficient and that great sums were devoted to maintaining the army. Unfortunately, there are no records to support these facts, which can, however, be inferred from the events of the time.

The smallest administrative units were the villages or Grāmas. The term Grāma is mentioned in the British Museum Stone inscription, dated in the year 10.[37] The village headman was designated as Grāmika. The Mathurā Jaina inscription, dated in the year 40, mentions the names of two such Grāmikas, Jayadeva and Jayanāga. The text of the inscription runs thus - "[Success!] In the year] 40 in the.....month of winter, on the tenth (?) day, - on

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35. See Supra

36. Ep.Ind, IX, pp.242, 246.

37. Ibid, p.240.

that (date specified as) above, - a stone-pillar (was dedicated, being) the gift of the Sihadatā (Siṁhadattā), the first wife of the village headman Jayanāga, the daughter-in-law of the village headman Jayadeva."[38] According to Beni Prasad, this inscription indicates that the office may have been a heridatory one,[39] as, indeed, is usual in India. Admitting the possibility of such an inference from the record, Bose still persists that "This solitary instance cannot be accepted as pointing to a general rule."[40] There is yet another inscription, namely, The Mathurā Jaina Image inscription of the year 84, which, perhaps, mentions a grāmika,[41] though the inscription is by no means clear. It may be assumed that the affairs of the village were supervised and controlled by these grāmikas.

That the Kushān Kings were well-versed in the art of diplomacy is amply manifested by the fact that Kadphises II sent an embassy to Rome in order to announce his victory over North-west India.[42] It has already been seen that Kanishka I received hostages from China, whom he treated with much courtesy and generosity.[43]

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38. Ibid, I, No.XI, pp.387-88; Lüders List No.48, Ibid, X, Appendix, p.10. Lüders says that the unit of the date is illegible.
39. S.A.I., p.232.
40. A.N.Bose, Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, (c.600 B.C. - 200 A.D.), Vol.I, Calcutta University, 1942, p.44, f.n.1.
41. Lüders' List No.69a, Ep.Ind., X, Appendix, p.168.
42. See Supra, Chapter II.
43. Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Yue-chi and the Kushāns flourished economically by holding the key points of the overland commerce routes between China and India and between China and Rome and, also, to some extent, controlling sea-routes between the Western world and India. This triangular commercial relationship between China, Rome and India brought prosperity and wealth to the Kushān Empire making it internationally famous and enabling it to develop its cultural activities in many spheres of life, particularly in the domain of art.

It has already been seen[1] that the silk-route from North West China, according to Warmington and Hudson, passed through Balkh and Merv running westwards.[2] Since the second century B.C. the Yue-chi, "The very war-like nation of the Bactrians" of the Periplus,[3] politically dominated the whole Oxus region, namely, Bactria and Sogdiana, and naturally they controlled the movement of the silk from China to the Roman Empire by the overland route, which passed through their territory. In the first century A.D. when the Kushāns established their empire in

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1. See Supra, Chapter I.
2. There is, however, another route, which ran directly from Samarkand to Merv, Warmington, C.R.E.I.,p.22.
3. Schoff, Periplus, section 47, p.41

North Western India, the silk trade took a different direction. The vast expansion of the Kushān Empire from the Oxus region to the Indian Ocean helped the Roman and Kushān merchants to enter into direct commercial relations and thus diverting the trade from Parthia.[4] Up till then Parthia had exercised a rigid control over this trade and successfully resisted Roman aspirations in this direction. After this, however, the silk was brought from Bactria to Barygaza on the Indian ocean, instead of being forwarded through Parthian Merv. The new tradeline ran via the Kābul valley and the old Mauryan Road across Northern India, the latter being connected with Barygaza by the southward road from Mathurā via Ozene, that is, Ujjain.[5] This fact is corroborated by the author of the Periplus who states that "After this region (that is, Chryse: the Malacca peninsula) under the very north, the sea outside ending in a land called This (that is, the great Western state of China, Ts'in) there is a very great inland city call Thinae (that is, Hienyang, later known as Si-gnan-fu, on the river Wei, near its confluence with the Hoang-Ho in the modern province of Shen-si), from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza, and are also exported to Damirica (that is, 'the country of the Tāmils'; Drāvidadēsam) by way of the river Ganges."[6]

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4. Hudson, E.C., p.88.
5. For details, see Supra, Chapter I.
6. Schoff, Periplus, sec.64, p.48; for the identification of the places, see Ibid, pp.259, 261, 265.

From this passage it appears that there was, also, another route, by which the silk was brought to India, beyond the eastern extremity of the Kushān Empire, which Schoff thinks ran "Across the Tibetan plateau, starting in the same direction as the Turkistān routes from Singanfu to Lanchow-fu; branching here, it led to Siningfu, thence to Koko Nor, and southwestward, by Lhasa and the Chumbi Vale to Sikkim and the Ganges."[7.]

We learn, also, from the Periplus that silk yarn was brought to Barbaricum, for it is stated that "The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis by the river, to the King.....There are exported (from Barbaricum) costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, and indigo."[8.] The merchants, who entered India from the west, as had already been seen,[9.] could descend the Indus in order to reach Barbaricum and the above passage suggests that this river route was in frequent use. In this connection Schoff postulates that "While the valuable silk cloth went to Barygaza, the yarn, or thread, went to Barbaricum, where it was exchanged for a product always more highly valued in China than in India-namely, frankincense."[10.] Thus, it is clear that under the Kushān Empire there existed a regular and well organized

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7. Ibid, p.272.

8. Ibid, sec.39, pp.37-38.

9. Supra, chapter I.

10. Schoff, Periplus, p.270.

traffic in silk.

Warmington ably sums up the position when he says, "The Indians became intermediaries in two ways - for though part of the silk sent by them to the Romans was diverted from the land-route for that purpose, part of it was the result of India's own trade in Chinese silk. Thus the mouth of the Indus may well have received silk purposely diverted from Central Asia; the Gulf of Cambay may have received its silk in the same way and by ordinary trade between India and China; but geographical considerations make it probable that the silk of the Ganges had come from China by sea or through Yunnan or Assam (down the Brahmaputra) to the Bay of Bengal only as trade between India and China."[11.]

It has already been seen[12.] that the Kushān territory was watered by many great rivers as well as being intersected by numerous land routes. The chief means of transport on the rivers was country-made boats while organised caravans, about which there are references in the Mathurā Jain inscription of the year 22 and, also, in Buddhist literature,[13.] utilised the land routes. By these means there was a free movement of commodities from one part of the kingdom to the other whereby the vast empire attained considerable economic stability.

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11. Warmington, C.R.E.I., pp.176-177.

12. See Supra, Chapter I.

13. cf.Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.327; see, also, J.R.A.S., 1912, p.967; for the inscription, see Infra; also, Rhys Davids, B.I., pp.98, 104.

It is to be noted that at the time of the Periplus Barygaza, to which the silk cloth was brought via Bactria as has been seen, developed into the largest port and trading centre on the western seaboard of India. The history of India's sea-trade with the Western world is highly interesting. The earliest sea-voyages made in Indian waters were obviously coastal. In about A.D.45 Hippalus discovered the existence of the monsoon-winds blowing regularly across the Indian Ocean that changed the whole aspect of the sea borne trade between India and the West.[14] "This remarkable man became aware that India formed a peninsula jutting southwards into the vast waters of the Erythraean Sea; in the course of trading along its coasts he had observed correctly the shape of what we now call the 'Arabian Sea'; and he had formed an idea of the position of Indian ports. At the same time he knew that from May to October a wind blew steadily across the sea from the south-west, while from November to March it blew with equal steadiness from the north-east. With these facts in his mind Hippalus sailed boldly one summer along the Arabian coast with the S.W. wind behind his ship; he touched at no Arabian port except the now insignificant Aden, and as the coast receded beyond Ras Fartak he pushed straight ahead across the open sea. He found his theories correct, for his ship reached India near the mouth of the

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14. H.G.Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, Cambridge, 1916, p.109.

Indus. Further voyages on this system by Hippalus and imitators of him resulted in their reaching direct the Indian coast anywhere between the Indus and the Gulf of Cambay, and merchants returned in winter time by using the N.E. counter-wind."[15]

Thus, an easy and reliable route to India was set up by Roman or Egyptian sea captains sailing from the Red Sea ports. In early stages this course ran from Ras Fartak in Arabia to Barbaricum, Barygaza, modern Jaigarh, or perhaps Rajapur.[16] Later on, however, some nameless merchant found an open-sea route from the Gulf of Aden to the South Indian coast near Muziris, modern Cranganore.[17] Coming down the Red Sea, the first port that had direct trade with India was Muza, modern Mocha, on the southern coast of Arabia, which sent its ships straight to Barygaza.[18] The author of the Periplus is precise when he states "Beyond these places, in a bay at the foot of the left side of this gulf, there is a place by the shore called Muza, a market-town established by law, distant altogether from Berenice (that is, Umm-el-Ketef Bay, at the time of the Periplus a leading port of Egypt for the Eastern trade) for those sailing southward, about twelve thousand stadia. And the whole place is crowded with Arab shipowners and

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15. M.Cary and E.H.Warmington, The Ancient Explorers, London, 1929, p.75.
16. Ibid, p.76.
17. Ibid, pp.76-77.
18. Rawlinson, Inter, p.112.

seafaring men, and is busy with the affairs of commerce; for they carry on a trade with the far-side coast and with Barygaza, sending their own ships there."[19]

Thus, Barygaza gradually developed into a great trading centre. Its commercial ascendancy attracted the notice of the Sātavāhanas and perhaps of the Kushāṇas to the region round this port. This ultimately led to a rivalry between these royal houses. The Periplus says, "The local marts which occur in order along the coast after Barugaza (that is, Barygaza) are Akabarou (this cannot be identified), Souppara (that is, Sopara, a few miles north of Bombay), Kalliena (the modern Kalyāṇa near Bombay), a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganes, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they were taken to Barugaza."[20] Saraganes (Sātakarṇi) is obviously one of the Sātavāhana kings. But scholars differ as to the identification of the King Sadanes whose intervention had so violently upset the maritime commercial relations between the Western World and India by closing Kalliena to Greek ships. Sylvain Lévi, in his learned

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19. Schoff, Periplus, sec.21, p.30; for identification see Ibid, p.55.
20. The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea, transl by J.W.McCrindle, Calcutta, Bombay, London, 1879, sec. 52, pp.127-28.

article in the Journal Asiatique,[21] identifies him with a Kushān King who is probably Kaniśka I. Rawlinson[22] and Schoff,[23] on the other hand, identify him with the Śaka King Sundara Śātakarni. However, nothing can be conclusively said in this regard until further evidence becomes available.

It is clear that trade moved southwards, as the southern ports became directly accessible to Western shipping. Thus Souppara or Suppara, Kalliena, Muziris, Nelcynda, which is near to modern Kottayam in the Cochin backwaters,[24] and other ports rose to prominence. On the east coast in the Bay of Bengal, Camara, which is perhaps modern Karikal,[25] Poduca, which is probably modern Pondicherry,[26] Sopatma, which is perhaps modern Madras,[27] Masalia, which is probably the region round Masulipatam,[28] and other ports became important. It is to be noted that the recent archaeological excavations at Arikamedu,[29] near Pondicherry, have unearthed large quantities of Roman pottery of various kinds. Of these, the Arretine ware was clearly imported into India from the Mediterranean.

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21. J. A., 1936, p.87.
22. Rawlinson, Inter, p.146.
23. Schoff, Periplus, pp.43, 198.
24. M.A.I.P., pp.350-51; see also Rawlinson, Inter p.120.
25. Schoff, Periplus, p.242.
26. Ibid, p.242.
27. Ibid, p.242.
28. Rawlinson, Inter, p.132.
29. An. I., No.2. July, 1946, pp.17 ff.

For a long time it has been known that large numbers of Roman coins covering the period from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. occurred in various parts of South India.[30] The major portion of these coins belongs to the period of Augustus and Tiberius.[31] This corresponds approximately with the period of the imported Arretine ware at Arikamedu. Thus, archaeological data in the form of Roman coins and the Arretine ware and Amphorae clearly corroborate the history of the commercial relations between India and Rome, so long known only from literary sources. Moreover, the excavations at Arikamedu have revealed a Roman settlement[32] in this region similar to that recorded in the literary accounts at Muziris on the west coast,[33] as yet unidentified.

Detailed lists of the commodities, that were imported and exported into and from India, are provided for us by Pliny and the author of the Periplus. According to them, the following commodities were imported into India:-[34] Topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, glass both flint and crude, tin, lead, copper, gold and silver coins, antimony, vessels of silver, beautiful maidens, wire, thin clothing, gold and

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30. Ibid, pp.116-21.

31. K.A.Nilkantha Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India, Madras, 1939, p.6.

32. An.I., No.2, July, 1946, p.17ff.

33. Cary and Warmington, A.E., p.79.

34. Schoff, Periplus, pp.286ff; Warmington, C.R.E.I., pp.261ff.

silver plates, lamps and vases, and slaves.

A comparatively large number of commodities was exported from India to the Western countries. Among these the following are worth noting[35] - Costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, indigo, spikenard, ivory, agate and cornelian, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper, malabathrum, gum resins, timber, ebony, fragrant woods, transparent stones, diamonds, sapphires, tortoise-shell, pearls, muslins, clarified butter or ghee, lac, slaves, elephants, fine swords made of Indian steel, honey and precious stones such as onyx, chalcedoney, opal, corundum, rubies, emeralds, beryl or aquamarine, garnets, hyeinth, tourmaline.

From these lists of imports and exports it is evident that the balance of trade was in favour of India and this is emphasised by the large hoards of Roman coins found in India. That the trade was lucrative is proved by many references in Latin literature and the fact that the merchants sold their Indian commodities in Rome at a price which is stated to have been a hundred times greater than their cost in India.[36] Despite these high prices, Roman

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35. Ibid, pp.146-260; Schoff, Periplus, pp.286ff.

36. G.Jouveau Dubreuil, India and the Romans, transl. by R.C.Temple, reprinted from the I.A., Bombay, 1923, vol.LII, 1923, pp.50-53.

demand for Oriental luxuries was consistent. This adverse balance of trade ultimately caused a serious crisis in the Roman Empire. Pliny condemns the Roman women for their extravagant taste for Oriental luxuries. He says that "At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres,[37] and the Arabian Peninsula withdraw from our empire one hundred millions of sesterces every year - so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women."[38] Mommsen[39] has calculated this sum to represent £1,100,000 of which nearly half went to India.

The commercial relations between India and Rome attained their zenith between the reigns of Augustus and Nero, that is, from the first century B.C., to the first century A.D. After Nero's death there was a decline in the demand for Oriental luxury articles as is evident from the acknowledged decrease in the number of Roman coins found in India, during the period from the first century A.D. to the first half of the third century.[40] After the second century A.D., however, Roman maritime trade with the East

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37. According to Warmington, the Seres here may be identified with perhaps Cheras of Southern India, see Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.274.

38. N.H.P., vol.III, Book-XII, 41(18), p.137.

39. T.Mommsen, The Provinces of Roman Empire, (in two volumes), transl. by W.P.Dickson, London, 1909, vol.II, p.300.

40. R.K.Mookerji, Indian Shipping, Bombay, Calcutta, London New York, 1912, p.126.

broadly speaking, ceased, and gradually the Arabians, the Auxumites of Abyssinia and the Persians stepped into the place of the Romans and became the leading navigators of the Erythraean Sea; at the same time Chinese merchants and Chinese shipping sailed as far West as the Persian Gulf.[41]

For the purpose of carrying on such large scale transactions with eastern countries, the Roman merchants found gold coins a necessity. This explains the large numbers of Roman gold coins brought by Roman subjects to India, which they used to buy in bulk what they were unable to get by exchanging their imperial products for Indian. In addition to this natural result of wholesale trade, it was obviously to the advantage of the Roman traders to establish their gold coinage in common use in India.[42] The Periplus states that silver denarii as well as gold aurei were brought to Barygaza and these were profitably exchanged with the local currency.[43] A very large amount of Roman money, undoubtedly both gold and silver, was also, sent to Muziris and Nelcynda.[44] The gold was the basis of the trade in pepper and malabathrum, a fact which has been preserved in the Tamil poems of the second century A.D.[45]

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41. Cary and Warmington, A.E., p.84.
42. Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.274.
43. Schoff, Periplus, section 49, p.42.
44. Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.277.
45. Cary and Warmington, A.E., p.81.

On this basic pattern of the Roman traffic with the ports of southern and eastern India the Kushāns established their commercial ascendency. It entailed the introduction of coins in imitation, in some way, of the Roman coinage.[46] Kadphises I minted money in bronze and copper only, which obviously could not meet the demands of the trade. It was Kadphises II, who grasped the necessity for a sound gold coinage and struck gold coins that agree in weight with the Roman aurei and are but little inferior to them in purity of metal. These oriental aurei and the one known silver coin, struck by Kadphises II which also corresponds with the weight of the Roman denarius,[47] helped to develop new relations in the Indo-European trade. The equality in weight of these Kushān and Roman coins clearly shows that there was a lively trade between these two empires.

There are, however, differences of opinion among scholars as to the source of the supply of gold to the Kushān kings mint. Warmington postulates that "It is probable that he (that is, Kadphises II) got most of it from the near East through the rulers of Mesene and Characene by way of the Persian Gulf, through which there is no doubt the Kushāns naturally conducted most of their

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46. Brown, Coi.I., p.34.

47. Smith, E.H.I., p.270; see Rapson, I.C., Pl.II, No.9; cf. Whitehead, Catal, p.174; Num.Chron., 3rd series, 1892, p.70. see Supra, Chapter II

sea-trade with the west."[48] In the time of the Periplus the Arabians[49] were already exporting from Apologos and Omana to Barygaza gold in the form of bullion, and it is natural to suppose that Kadphises continued to import it via the ports at the mouths of the Indus.[50] There are others, who are of the opinion that Roman gold coins were melted down en masse by the Kushān kings for their own coinage.[51] Warmington admits that "Rome's trade with North-west India was therefore peculiar; there Orientals melted down and re-issued the Roman coinage, besides striking from their own imported bullion, so that the Roman merchants tended to receive some of their money wealth back again."[52] The coins of Kanishka I are, also, of the Roman standard. Huvishka introduced the Alexandrian god Serapis (as Serapo) on some of his coins, which must be due to the persistence of the trade with India conducted by Alexandrian merchants.[53] He, also, struck gold coins stamped with the inscription 'PIOM' and the image of Roma, goddess of the Imperial city.[54]

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48. Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.299.

49. Schoff, Periplus, sec-36, p.36.

50. Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.299.

51. Mookerji, I.Sh. p.119; see, also, A.Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, London, 1891, p.50.

52. Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.302.

53. J.R.A.S., 1912, p.987; cf. Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.299

54. Gardner, Catal., pp.lxii, 149.

It should be noted that in North Western India and Afghānistān Roman coins of gold, silver and copper have been discovered which are both contemporary with and of earlier date than those found in South India. These are found in the districts of Kohat and Hazara, and in the Mānikyāla and the Ahin Posh stūpas.[55] In the discussion of Roman coin-finds in Afghānistān and North Western India it is interesting to note than an amphora of Mediterranean type has, also, been discovered at Taxila, which perhaps indicates early Roman contact with India by the overland routes, unlike the Arikamedu amphoras, which indicate maritime trade. The Taxila amphora is dated by Marshall to the first centuries B.C. - A.D.[56] It must be admitted that the number of Roman coins found in Northern India is far less than that in Southern India.[57] A plausible explanation of this, according to Warmington, is that after Kadphises II had begun to strike gold and silver coins imitating the Roman currency, the Romans ceased to import specie in the same quantity as they had done before since it was no longer required.[58] On the other hand, it may, also, be due to the fact already mentioned that the Roman coins were melted down as the basis of the Kushān gold issues.

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55. Smith, E.H.I., p.270; Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.300, An.I., No.2, July 1946, pp.119-20.

56. An.I., No.2, July 1946, p.45.
57. Mookerji, I.Sh., p.119.
58. Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.301.

Contacts between the Kushāns and the Romans have left some traces in the history of the Kushān dynasty. It has already been seen that commercial relation between the two empires lasted for a long time. Not only did the Kushāns base their coinage on the Roman standard but the Kushān king, Kanishka II, adopted the Roman title "Kaisara"(Caesar) according to the Ārā inscription of the year 41.[59] Pargiter interprets the Māṇikyāla inscription of the year 18 as proving that the Kushāns divided the day into hours according to the Roman or Greek system.[60] There is, however, considerable doubt whether his reading can be accepted in view of Konow's recent reading of this inscription, which differs entirely from Pargiter's.[61] Roman influence is now, also, admitted in the Gandhāran sculptures. Smith remarks, "The Indian embassy which offered its congratulations to Trajan at some date after his return to Rome in A.D.99 may have been dispatched by Kadphises II to announce his conquests."[62] Mookerji rightly points out that "This close connection between India and the Roman Empire during the period of the Kushāns also explains the mass of accurate information regarding the Indus valley and Bactria which Ptolemy in the 1st century A.D. and the author of "Periplus"

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59. Konow, C.I.I., p.165.

60. J.R.A.S., 1914, p.647; 1915, pp.702ff; Warmington, C.R.E.I., p.95.

61. Konow, C.I.I., p.149f.

62. Smith, E.H.I., p.269; see Supra, chapter II.

had been able to record."[63] It is, also, interesting to note that there is evidence of western influence in the work of the Sanskrit lawgiver, Yājñavalkya, who is placed by Jayaswal in about 150-200 A.D., in his codification of the laws of partnership, contract and foreign commerce.[64]

The money minted by the Kushān Kings had an acknowledged value in the internal trade among the contemporary royal-houses of India. The Nāsik inscription of Ushavadata records that 70,000 Kārshāpaṇas were equivalent to 2,000 Suvarṇas.[65] Although the term Kārshāpaṇa during this period is applied to both copper and silver, there is no doubt that silver Kārshāpaṇas are intended here. It seems quite probable that the Suvarṇa gold coins were not minted locally and hence these may be regarded, according to Rapson, as the contemporary gold currency of the Kushāṇs.[66] From the figures mentioned in the above record it may be calculated that the rate of exchange between the indegenous silver Kārshāpaṇas and the gold Suvarṇas was 35:1.

The economic progress made in the Kushān period is evident from the inscriptions referring to trade and craft guilds. These guilds, it is well known, were features of the organisation of ancient India, but owing to paucity of

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63. Mookerji, I.Sh. p.139.

64. K.P.Jayaswal, Manu and Yājñavalkya, Calcutta, 1930, p.61.

65. I.A., vol.XLVIII, 1919, p.81.

66. Rapson, Catal.C.A.D., p.clxxxv.

evidence, their constitution and practical functions cannot be studied in detail. However, the Mathurā Stone inscription of Huvishka, dated in the year 28, shows that the guild itself was known as Śreṇī.[67] That the head of the guild was called the Śreṣṭhin[68] is evident from the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā of the years 5 and 15.[69] It is very difficult to ascertain what powers he exercised and what rights he had over the individual members of the guild. It seems quite probable that he used to mediate and settle disputes between the members though it is difficult to ascertain the means that were adopted for such settlements. His chief function was, no doubt, to preside over the guild and to look after its welfare.

In the Kushān inscriptions reference is made to trade and craft guilds as follows:-

The Kanishka Casket inscription of the year 1 mentions a religious gift by the slave Agiśāla, who was an architect (dāsa Agiśāla ṇa (na) vakarmia).[70] The term architect is, also, mentioned in the Hidda inscription of the year 28,

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67. Ep.Ind., XXI, No.10, p.61.

68. This term is often translated 'Alderman', but 'Chief Warden' would be a better term.

69. Ep.Ind., I, Nos.I and II, pp.381, 382.

70. C.I.I., p.137. According to Burrow, the term 'Navakarmika' "Means properly renewer, repairer, rebuilder, and not merely 'architect' in general", J.G.I.S., Vol.XI, No.1, January, 1944, (Sir M.A.Stein Memorial Number - Part I), p.16.

which records the deposit of a relic by Saṁghamitra, an architect (Saṁghamitrena navakarmiena).[71] It is very difficult to say whether the 'architect' was a state official or a member of an ordinary craft guild. However, from the Kaniṣhka Casket inscription, it can be ascertained that the 'architect' was a member of a guild for here Agiśala describes himself as a 'dāsa', that is, slave or a subordinate servant - a style which is hardly probable in the case of a state official. Therefore, it may be assumed that the term 'architect' technically indicates membership of a guild. The chief function of such a guild, as indicated by the records, was to construct vihāras, temples, etc.

Another type of architect is indicated by the term 'Vihārakaravhaeṇa', that is, one who seems to have been entrusted with the repairs of monasteries; such an architect is referred to in the Māṇikyāla inscription of the year 18.[72] But it is difficult to find out what relation such craftmen had with the navakarmikas. It has been suggested that they were inferior to 'architects' in their skill and efficiency and hence had to deal only with repairs.[73]

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71. C.I.I., p.158.

72. Ibid, pp.149-50; cf. Ind.Cul., Vol,VI, No.4,April,1940, p.422.

73. Ibid, p.422

The guild of 'Lōhikākāra', that is, Lōhakārā, is mentioned in the Mathurā Jaina inscription of the year 92, which records the dedication by a member of guild Gottika, the Sūra, the son of Śramaṇaka.[74] It is clear that this guild must have dealt with metals and thus its members may be styled as smiths[75] of some kind or other. It is, also, clear from the name that they worked exclusively with iron. The existence of such a guild can, also, be traced in the Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka.[76]

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā of the year 20 (?) records "The gift of Mittrā, the first wife of Haggudeva (Phalgudeva), the daughter-in-law of the iron-monger Vāchera.....and the daughter of .....Jayabhaṭṭi, the 'māṇikara', of Khoṭṭamitta."[77] This inscription records the guild-name, 'Māṇikara', that is, jeweller, properly written 'Maṇikāra'. It is likely that during this period the flourishing Indian trade with the Western world in Indian gems and diamonds,[78] brought good business to these 'māṇikaras' but due to the absence of sufficient epigraphic materials it is not possible to study their commercial wellbeing in detail.

The Mathurā Jaina inscription of the year 93 records[79]

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74. Ep. Ind., II, no. XVIII, pp.203-4.
75. Ibid, I, No. XXI, p.391.
76. The Jātaka. Translated from the Pali by various hands, ed. by E.B.Cowell, (in 6 vol. with an Index), Cambridge, 1895-1913, Book XXXII, Vol. VI, No.546, The Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka, 427, p.220.
77. Ep. Ind., I, No. IV, pp.383-84.
78. See Supra.
79. Ep. Ind., II, no. XXIII, p.205.

the dedication of an image of the divine Vardhamāna by the daughter of the gold-smith, Deva (Devasya Hairaṇyakasya). Indeed, the domestic prosperity, founded upon extensive trade, must have kept the goldsmiths busy designing and making ornaments for home use. Then as always the Indian peasants as well as the well-to-do classes put a great deal of their money into the ornaments worn by their wives. It cannot be said with certainty whether the goldsmiths confined themselves only to work in gold or whether they made silver ornaments as well. However, it is certain that they were quite distinct from the 'māṇikaras' and hence they did not make ornaments of jewels and precious stones, which was a distinct craft.

The Mathurā Jaina inscription of the year 22 mentions "The gift of Dharmasomā, the wife of a caravan leader."[80] The term used for 'caravan leader' here is 'Sarttavāhiniye'. The Sanskrit equivalent is "Sārthavāhana"[81]. The professional skill of such persons lay in knowing the trade-routes so that they could guide the merchants safely to different parts of the continent. The overland-trade with Central Asia and China must have at this period been carried on to a great extent with the help of such guilds[82]. Due to lack of materials it is not possible to say whether the post was

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80. Ibid, I, no.XXIX, p.395.

81. Sir M.Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, New Edition, Oxford, 1899, p.1209.

82. See Supra.

a hereditary one or whether such leaders were elected by the caravan traders. As used here it seems to be an established professional term.

It is possible that another guild is mentioned in a solitary Kushān inscription. The term used is 'Rajanāpita' to which belonged Jāra of the record.[83] If the term 'Rājanāpita' means the 'Chief of the Barbars', it suggests that the barbers, also, must have formed a professional class organised on guild lines. Agrawala says, "It(that is, the slab bearing the inscription) is a signboard slab marking some building which belonged to the head barber Jāra, probably his house or shop. Unfortunately the exact locality or the find-place of the slab is not recorded which would give material help in determining the nature of the edifice in which the slab was fixed."[84] The functions of these barbers were, no doubt, to dress the hair, to shave and to massage. Rhys Davids also says that in Buddhist India "The barbers and shampooers had their guilds".[85] However, it may be noted that the term 'Rājanāpita' may also be interpreted in another way. As it stands, the term may well mean the 'King's Barber'; if it does, it is, of course, nothing more than the personal designation of the particular man holding that

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83. J.U.P.H.S., vol.X, pt.I, July, 1937, no.III, p.3.

84. Ibid.

85. Rhys Davids, B.I., p.94.

office, without any reference to a guild of barbers.

A Jaina inscription from Mathurā of the year 25 records a dedication by 'Rayagini', that is, 'the wife of a rayaga'. According to Lüders, 'rayaga' is the true Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit 'rajaka', which means 'Washerman or dyer'. The term perhaps denotes the existence of a washerman's guild and this profession is still largely a caste matter to-day. If such a guild is indicated by the term, there is no doubt that, like other guilds, it had good business.

There are several Kushān inscriptions, namely, The Mathurā Jaina inscriptions of the years 35, 32, 98, and the Jina Image inscription of the year 83, which record dedications made by members of the guild of perfumers (Gandhika). This guild appears to have been an old one, for it is mentioned in the Kāsāva-Jātaka, where it seems to have been localised in certain definite quarters of the city.

There appears to have been yet another guild, namely, that of the Samitakaras, who traded in wheat flour. It is mentioned in the Mathurā Stone inscription of Huvishka of the year 28. This guild of flour-makers, who both ground wheat and sold flour, obviously commanded the confidence

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86. Ep.Ind, I, No.V, p.384.

87. I.A., XXXIII, 1904, p.37.

88. Ep.Ind, I, No.VII, pp.385, 386; Ibid, II, No.XVI, p.203 Lüder's List No.76, Ibid, X, Appendix, p.15. J.Ph. Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā, Allahabad, 1910, no.B2, p.66.

89. Jātaka, Book, II, Vol.II, No.221, Kāsāva-Jātaka,197, p.138.

90. Ep.Ind, XXI, pp.60-61.

of the public for it is recorded as acting as a trustee. It is interesting to note that permanent endowments were made through these guilds by public benefactor for specific purposes.[91] In this capacity the guilds served as modern banks. The records deal with religious and pious gifts, but they were doubtless used for everyday purposes as well. The Mathurā Stone inscription of Huvishka of the year 28, runs:-"Success. In the year 28, on the first day of Gorpiaios this eastern hall of merit (puṇyaśālā) was given a perpetual endowment (akshayanīvi) by the Kanasarukamāna-scion, the lord of Kharāsalēra, the lord of Vakana. From what is cleared off month for month (māsānumāsam) from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmaṇas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three 'āḍhaka' groats, one 'prastha', salt, one 'prastha śāku', three 'ghaṭaka' and five 'mallaka' of green vegetable bundles, this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what merit is herein, may that accrue to the Devaputra Shāhi Huvishka, and also to those to whom the Devaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the '-raka'-guild, 550 'purāṇa', and to the flourmaker-guild (Samitakara-śreṇī), 550 'purāṇa'."[92]

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91. cf. R.N.Saletore, Life in the Gupta Age, Bombay, 1943, p.323.

92. Ep.Ind., XXI, pp.60-61.

Thus, it is evident that economic conditions in the Kushān period were stable. Indeed, the commercial relations with China and Rome must have brought great prosperity to the people, at any rate, of the cities. The guilds helped to maintain commercial and economic harmony among their members. An analogy of such an organized guild-system can be made from the contemporary records of the Sātavāhanas of Western India. In both the kingdoms trade flourished due to the efficiency of the guilds.[93] It is noteworthy that the numerous religious dedications, recorded in the Kushān inscriptions, make it clear that common people played an active part in the religious life of the country. Moreover, these records perhaps indicate the prosperity of the people.[94] If this is so, the Kushān period marks one of the brightest periods in Indian history.

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93. cf. C.K.Gairola, A Cultural History of the Sātavāhana Dynasty, Thesis accepted for the Ph.D., 1949, University of London, pp.89 ff.

94. cf. R.K.Mookerji, Local Government in Ancient India, Oxford, 1920, pp.88-89.

CHAPTER V.
RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

Numerous Kushān coins and donative inscriptions throw light on the religious and social conditions of the period. Cunningham has supplied the following list of names of deities mentioned on Kushān coins:[1]

I - Sun

1.	ΗΛΙΟϹ	Helios ..... K	
2.	ΜΙΙΡΟ	Miiro ...P'Mihir' .....KH	
3.	ΑΡΑϵΙΧΡΟ	Ashavikhsho ....P'Asha-Vahishta..H	
4.	ΑΙΝΟ-?	Aino - ?..... H	
5.	ϹΓΒΟΡ	Ombor ? ..... H	

II - Moon

1.	ϹΑΛΗΝΗ	Selene ..... K	
2.	ΜΑΟ	Mao .....P'Mah'.....KH	
3.	ΜΑΝΑΟ-ΒΑΓΟ	Manao-bago - P.'Manabaga'- KH	

III - Mars

1.	ΗΦΑΙϹΤΟϹ	Hephaistos ..... K	
2.	ΑΘΡΟ	Athsho ....P'Atar','Atash'...KH	
3.	ΛΟΗ	Loi .... Eng.'Love' 'Glow' H	
4.	ΑΡΟΟϹΠΟ	Arvo-aspo .....KH	
5.	ΜΑΑϹΗΝΟ	Maasano .....S.'Mahāsena' H	
6.	ϹΚΑΝΔΟ. ΚΟΜΑΡΟ ...	Skando-Komaro..S.'Skanda-Kumāra' .....H	
7.	ΒΙΖΑΓΟ	Bizago .....S.'Visākha'..H	

1. Num. chron., 3rd series, Vol. XII, 1892, pp.61-62. The letters K and H on the right stand for Kanishka I and Huvishka.

8. ΟΡΛΓΝΟ ..... Orlagno ... (P'Verethragha') (S'Vritraghan')... K

9. ΟΛΝΙΝΔΑ ..... Oaninda ... P'Vanainti' ... H

IV - Mercury.

1. ΟΛΔΟ ..... Oado ... P'Bād; S.'Vāta' ... KH

V - Jupiter.

1. ΜΑΣΔΟΟΛΝΟ.. Mazdohano ... P.'Mazdaonho' ... K

2. ΦΑΡΡΟ ..... Pharro ...P'Bāran', S.'Parjanya' ... KH

VI - Venus

1. ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ ... Ardokhsho ... (P'Arta-dukhta') (S'Ard-daksha') KH

2. ΡΛΟΡΗΟΡΟ ... Shaoreoro ... (P.'Sharewar') (S.'Aira-Vira') H

3. ΡΙΔΗ ..... Pido ... S.'Siddhi'..... H

4. ΜΑΝΑΙΛ-ΜΑΝΑ.. Manaia ... P.'Anāhita'.... KH

5. ΖΕΙΡΟ ..... Zeiro ... P.Zahra ..... H

VII - Saturn.

1. ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ..... Herakilo .....H

2. ΟΚΡΟ ..... Okaho .....S.'Uksha'...KH

3. ΘΑΡΑΠΟ ..... Sarapo .....'Sarapis'= 'Yama'.H

4. ωΡΟΗ ..... Horon ..... S.'Varun' ....H

5. ΟΧΡΟ ..... Okhsho .....H

6. ΟΑΧΡΟ ..... Oakhsho .....H

Buddha.

1. ΒΟΔΔΟ ..... Bodo .....S.Buddha...K

2. ΘΑΚΑ. ΜΑΝΑ. ΒΟΥΔΟ .... Saka-Mana Boudo...) Sakya-muni Buddha) K

This list is to be supplemented by the following names of deities some of which are the variations of

Cunningham's list:-

I - Sun

1. ΜΙΟΡΟ .....ΚΗ
2. ΜΙΧΡΟ .....ΚΗ
3. ΜΙΡΟ .....Π
4. ΜΕΙΡΟ .....Κ
5. ΜΟΡΟ .....Η
6. ΜΧΡΟ .....Η
7. ΘΝΙΑ .....Η
8. ΜΡΡΟ (?) .....Η

II - Moon

1. ΜΑΠΑΟΒΑΓΟ .....Π

III - Other deities

1. ΑΡΔΟΧΡ .....Η
2. ΑΡΟΟΧΡ .....Η
3. ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ .....Κ
4. ΑΘΟΡΟ .....Η
5. ΟΚΡΟ .....ΚΗV
6. ΟΚΡΑ .....Η
7. ΟΠΡΟ .....ΚΗV
8. ΜΑΠΑ and ΟΠΡΟ .....Η
9. ΜΑΠΑ .....ΚΗV
10. ΜΑΜΟ .....Η
11. ΜΑΠΑΡΑΟ .....ΚΗ
12. ΜΑΠΑΙΑ .....Κ
13. ΦΑΡΟ .....Η

14. OANIKO◁O .....H

15. KPAKH∧O .....H

16. OKI∧ .....H

17. OPOOX .....H

18. OAKAO .....H

19. OOPKA .....H

20. O◁LLO .....H

21. ωPON .....H

22. hPArI∧O .....H

23. PAOPhOFO .....H

24. PIDM .....H

25. KAAChNO .....H [2]

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2. Whitehead, Catal., pp.186 ff; Smith, Catal., pp. 69 ff; Gardner, Catal., pp. 120 ff.

The letters K, H and V on the right stand for Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva I.

During the Kushān period Śaivism, or, at least the worship of Siva, flourished under the patronage of the Kings. It has already been noted that on his coins Kadphises II used the legend Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Sarvaloga Iśvarasa Mahiśvarasa Vima (or Wima or Hima) Kathphiśasa Tradara (or Tradata or Trataresa).[3] It clearly shows that the King was a devotee of Mahesvara or Śiva, or a member of the Mahesvara sect.[4] Moreover, on the reverse of his coins he used the figure of Śiva with hair in spiral top-knot and a skin (?tiger's) over the left arm. The deity holds the trident in the right hand and the Bull, Nandi, is, also, present on some coins.[5] The symbol Nandipada, that is, the footprint of Nandi is, also, associated with the figures of Śiva and his Bull on certain coins.[6] On other types of Kadphises II there, also, appear the trident, the Bull, the flame issuing from head and the tiger skin.[7] On the coins of Kanishka I figures of the four-armed Śiva are found, holding in the upper right hand the Vajra or thunderbolt, in the lower right hand a water-vessel with mouth downwards, in the upper left hand nothing, the lower left

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3. See Supra, Chapter II.
4. cf. C.W.B., p.167.
5. Smith, Catal. p.68; Num. Chron., 3rd series, Vol.XII, 1892, pp.67-69.
6. Gardner, Catal. pl. XXV, 7, p.124.
7. Ibid, p.124 ff; Whitehead, Catal., pp.183 ff.

hand on the hip and an antelope rampant in right field; on some coins the figure is holding in the upper right hand the thunderbolt, in the lower right hand the noose, in the upper left hand the trident, the lower left arm hanging down.[8] On the other coins of Kaniśka I there appear, also, the trident, the goat, the drum, the wreath, the vase, the gourd with elephant goad and the noose.[9] There are a few coins on which Śiva is represented with two arms.[10] On the coins of Huviśka the figure of Śiva is printed in a different way. He is now four-armed and three-faced, wearing the Indian waistcloth and holding in the upper right hand the thunderbolt, in the lower right hand the water vessel with mouth downwards or sometimes the elephant goad and water-vessel turned down, in the upper left hand (the trident, the lower left hand) resting on the club or on the horns of an antelope.[11] On a few coins he is, also, represented with four arms holding the thunderbolt, the trident, the water-vessel and the wreath.[12] Cunningham has drawn attention to a coin-type on which the figure of Śiva appears with the goddess Nanaia.[13] Huviśka's coins, also,

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8. Smith, Catal., pp.70. 74.
9. Whitehead, Catal., pp.187, 192; Gardner, Catal, p.135.
10. Whitehead, Catal., p.192.
11. Smith, Catal., p.78, Gardner, Catal., p.147.
12. Smith, Catal., p.82.
13. Num. Chron., 3rd series, vol. XII, 1892, p.119.

bear the two-armed Śiva.[14] On the coins of Vāsudeva I he appears holding the noose in the right hand and the trident in the left with the Bull standing behind him. It will be noted that sometimes Śiva is not accompanied by the Bull.[15] It will, also, be noted that there are a few coins on which Śiva appears with three faces and two arms,[16] holding the trident in the left hand or the noose in the right hand and sometimes the bull Nandi standing behind.[17] On the coins of the successors of Vāsudeva I the figure of Śiva with his Bull, also, appears.[18] Thus, it is clear from the numismatic evidence that throughout the Kushān rule the worship of Śiva prevailed. The largest number of Śiva types are found on the coins of Kadphises II and Vāsudeva I.[19]

Another god whose worship was practiced in the Kushān period was Skanda or Kārttikeya. He is the son of Śiva and is the commander-in-chief of the army of the gods. Being brought up by the six mothers, the Kirttikās (Pleiads), he is called Kārttikeya.[20] He has the peacock as his vāhana. On Huvishka's coins there appear figures bearing the names Mahāsena,

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14. Smith, Catal., p.81; Gardner, Catal., p.155.
15. Smith, Catal., p.84.
16. Gardner, Catal., p.159.
17. Num. Chron., 3rd series, vol. XII, 1892, pp.124,126.
18. Smith, Catal., p.87.
19. cf. E.H.I., p.288, C.W.B., p.167; P.H.A.I., p.399.
20. cf. B.K. Barua, A Cultural History of Assam, Thesis accepted for the Ph.D., University of London, 1947, p.283.

Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha. On a few coins the god carries in his right hand a standard surmounted by a bird, with left hand resting on sword at his side. These coins bear the legend Mahāsena, which is a synonym for Kārttikeya.[21] On others there are two figures, both nimbate and carrying swords. These have the legend Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha.[22] Again, on some coins there are three figures standing side by side in a temple each nimbate. The middle figure is inscribed Mahāsena; that on the left Skanda-Kumāra; and that on the right Viśākha.[23] Cunningham says, "The last name 'Viśākha', the 'divider', is given to him as 'Shan-mukhi', or the 'six-faced', because he divides the year into two portions of six months each".[24] In the Mahābhārata, however, Viśākha is mentioned as having arisen from the right side of Skanda, when he was struck by Indra's thunderbolt.[25] This indicates that the two are one person. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that the above three names refer to one single deity Kārttikeya.[26]

The Sun or Sūrya is a Vedic deity.[27] According to Bhandarkar, foreign influence contributed to the growth of

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21. Smith, Catal., p.76.
22. Num. Chron, 3rd series, Vol. XII, 1892, p.106.
23. Ibid, pp.106, 107.
24. Ibid, p.107.
25. M.Bh., Vol. III, Vana Parva, section - CCXXVII, p.689.
26. C.V.B., p.215.
27. C.H.I., p.104.

Sun-worship in India, which became prevalent in Northern India from the early centuries of the Christian era.[28] On the coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka there appears a figure with the characteristic halo of sun-rays behind the head. These bear the name Mihira.[29] Bhandarkar says that Mihira is the Sanskritised form of the Persian Mihr, which is a corruption of Mithra, the Avestic form of the Vedic Mitra. The cult of Mihr had originated in Persia, and it extended into Asia Minor and even Rome. He holds that the proselytising energy which characterised its first adherents must have led to its extension towards the east also, and of this extension the figure of Mihra on Kanishka's coin is evidence. The cult, therefore, must have penetrated to India about the time of that Kushān prince, and the Multān temple which was its original seat must have been constructed about the same time.[30]

Raychaudhuri says that the Kushān Age, also, witnessed the development of the cult of Vāsudeva-Krishna. However, inscriptions clearly prove the existence of this cult in the last century B.C.[31]

Archaeological remains, images and inscriptions prove

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28. C.W.B., p.218. The Sun-god on his chariot appears on the Sāñchī bas-reliefs.
29. Num. Chron., 3rd series, vol. XII, 1892, pp. 72 ff, 99 ff; Whitehead, Catal., pp. 186, 187 ff, 194 ff.
30. C.W.B., p.220.
31. P.H.A.I., p.399; cf. the Besnagar Heliodorus inscription, C.H.I., p.558.

that Mathurā was a stronghold of Jainism from the early years of the Christian era.[32] Numerous Mathurā Jaina inscriptions, some of which were found in the Kaṅkālī Ṭilā, mention the names of Kushān Kings, viz., Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva.[33]

From early times Jainism was divided into several schools of thought with their respective branches and families. These divisions are Gaṇa, Kula and Śākhā. The terms have been defined by Jacobi as follows : "It is not clear what is meant by Gaṇa, Kula and Śākhā. Gaṇa designates the school which is derived from one teacher; Kula the succession of teachers in one line; Śākhā the lines which branch off from each teacher. These terms seem to be disused in modern times".[34] In the Kushān inscriptions several Jain orders are mentioned and hence it is clear that Jain sects were prevalent at that time.

The Kalpa Sūtra mentions that the Uddeha Gaṇa was founded by Ārya Rohaṇa of the Kāśyapa gotra. This Gaṇa was divided into four Śākhās, namely, Udumbarikā (Pr. Udumberiggiyā), Māsapūrikā, Matipatrikā and Pūrṇapatrikā (Pr. Puṇṇapattiyā, Panna, Sunna, or Suvanna), and into six

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32. The Cultural Heritage of India, Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial, Vol. I, Calcutta, p.221.
33. Ep. Ind., X, Appendix, pp.3 ff.
34. The Kalpa Sūtra, p.288, f.n.2, The Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1884, vol. XXII.

Kulas, namely, Nāgabhūta, Sōmabhūta, Ullagakkha (or Ārdrakakkha ?), Hastiliqta (Pr. Hatthiliggo), Nāndika (Pr. Nandigga) and Parihāsaka.[35] Among the Kulas mentioned above only Nāgabhūta and Parihāsaka can be identified from the records. In the Jain inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 7, the former is written as Nāgabhūtikīya[36] and in the Mathurā Jaina Image inscription of sam 98 the latter is recorded as Paridhāsika.[37] In this connection it is to be noted that Lüders is of the opinion "The form Paridhāsika shows that the Pārihāsaya of the Kalpa Sūtra must be rendered in Sanskrit by Pāridhasika, and not by Parihāsaka as done in the Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXII, p.290".[38]

The Kalpa Sūtra records that the Vesavāṭika Gaṇa was founded by Kāmaṛddhi (Pr. Kāmiddhi) of the Kandala gotra. It was divided into four Sākhās and four Kulas. The former were styled as Srāvastikā, Rājyapālikā, Antarañjikā, Kshemaliptikā (Pr. Khemaliggiyā), while the latter were called Gaṇika, Meighika, Kamarddhika and Indrapuraka.[39] Of these the Meighika Kula occurs in the

35. Ibid, p.290.
36. Ep. Ind., I, no.XIX, p.391.
37. I.A., XXXIII, p.109.
38. Ibid.
39. S.B.E., XXII, p.291.

Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 15, where it is mentioned as Mehika.[40]

It is said in Jacobi's translation of the Kalpa Sūtra that Śrīgupta of the Hārita gotra was the founder of the Kāraṇa Gaṇa,[41] but Bühler identifies this Gaṇa with the Vāraṇa Gaṇa of the inscriptions.[42] It was divided into four Śākhās, namely, Hāritamālākārī, Sāṅkāsikā, Gavedhukā, Vajranāgarī, and into seven Kulas, namely, Vātsalīya, (Pr. Vakkhaliggo), Prītidharmika, Hāricāraka (Pr. Hāliggo), Pushyamitrika (Pr. Pūsamittigga), Mālyaka (Pr. Māligga), Āryacchetaka and Krishṇasākha (Pr. Kanhasaha).[43] In the Kushān records Vāraṇa Gaṇa and some of its Śākhās and Kulas are mentioned. The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 29, refers to "Gahaprakiva, pupil of the venerable Data, a gaṇin in the Vāraṇa gaṇa and the Puśyamitrīya (Pushyamitrīya) Kula".[44] The Kula referred to here is clearly the Pushyamitrika of the Kalpa Sūtra.

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 44, has the following passage : "Nāgasena, the pupil

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40. Ep. Ind., I, no.II, p.382; see also Bühler's discussion. Ibid, p.379.
41. S.B.E., XXII, p.291.
42. Ep. Ind., I, p.378.
43. S.B.E., XXII, pp.291-92.
44. Ep. Ind., I, no. VI, p.385.

of Haginandi (Hāgānandi ?), a preacher (Vāchaka) in the (Vāraṇa) gaṇa, in the Aryya-Chetiya (Ārya-Chetika) Kula, in the Harītamālakaḍhi (Harītamālagaḍhī) śākhā ....."[45] The Harītamālakaḍhi (Harītamālagaḍhi) Śākhā and the Āryya-Chetika Kula can be identified with the Hāritamālakārī and the Āryacetaka of the Kalpa-Sūtra.

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā dated in the year 40 records the gift of Sihadata (Simhādatta) "At the request of Akakā (?), the female pupil of Nandā (?), and of Balavarmā (?), the sadhachari of Mahanandi (Mahānandin) (and) female pupil of Dati (Dantin) out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, the Āryya-Hatikiya (Ārya-Hāṭikīya) Kula, the Vajanagarī (Vārjanāgarī) śākhā (and) the Siriya sambhoga".[46] The Vajanagarī (Vārjanāgarī) Śākhā and the Āryya-Haṭikiya (Ārya-Hāṭikīya) Kula of the record can be identified with the Vajranāgarī and the Āryacetaka of the Kalpa Sūtra. Again, this Śākhā and Kula are mentioned in an undated inscription from Mathurā, where the Vajranāgarī Śākhā is written as Vajanāgri (Vārjanāgarī) and the Āryacetaka

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45. Ibid, no. IX, p.387.
46. Ibid, no. XI, pp.387-88

Kula as Aya-Hāṭṭiya (Arya-Hāliya). The inscription runs thus : "[At the request of .....] in the Vāraṇa school, Aya-Hāṭṭiya (Arya-Hāliya) family, the Vajanāgari (Vārjanāgarī) branch".[47] The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 4, also, records this Śākhā and Kula. It runs: "The female pupil of Sathisihā (Shashṭisiṁhā), the female pupil of Puśyamitra ..... out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, out of the Arya-Hāṭṭakiya (Ārya-Hāṭṭakīya) Kula, out of the Vajanagarī (Vārjanagarī) śākhā ....."[48]

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 47, records the gift "At the request of Sena, a teacher in the Varaṇa (Vāraṇa) school and the Petivamika (Praitivarmika) family".[49] The Petivamika (Praitivarmika) family is clearly the Prītidharmika Kula of the Kalpa Sūtra.

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 50, records the gift of Vijayaśiri (Vijayaśrī) and mentions "The Varaṇa (Vāraṇa) gaṇa, the Ayyabhyiste(?) Kula, the Se [ṁkāsiyā] śākhā".[50] The Śākhā is clearly the Śaṁkāśikā

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47. Ibid, no. XXXIV, p.397.
48. Ibid, II, no. XI, p.201.
49. Ibid, I, no. XXX, p.396.
50. Ibid, II, no. XXXVI, p.209.

of the Kalpa Sūtra. The Ayyabhyiata (?) Kula is difficult to identify. It is quite possible, as Saletore points out, that it may be a variation or even an innovation in the order.[51] Another parallel instance is to be found in the expression 'Nāḍika Kula', which is recorded in an undated Kushān inscription found at Mathurā. The text of the inscription runs : "A preacher in the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Nāḍika Kula".[52]

The Kalpa Sūtra mentions that Suṣṭhita and Supratibuddha, surnamed Kauṭika and Kākandaka, of the Vyāghrāpatya gotra, were the founders of the Kauṭika Gaṇa, which was divided into four Śākhās, namely, Uccanāgarī, Vidhyādharī, Vajrī and Madhyamikā (Pr. Maggḥimillā), and into four Kulas, namely, Brahmaliptaka (Pr.Bambhaliggā), Vāṭsaliya (Pr. Vakkhaliggā), Vāṇiya (Pr. Vāniggā) and Praśnavāhanaka.[53] The Kushān inscriptions record the Kauṭika Gaṇa as the Koṭṭiya Gaṇa and some of its Śākhās and Kulas. The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 79, states that "Aya-Vṛidhahasti (Ārya-Vriddhahastin),

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51. Saletore, L.G.A., p.557.
52. Ep. Ind, II, no. XXVIII, pp.206-07
53. S.B.E., XXII, p.292.

a preacher in the Koṭṭiya gaṇa (and) in the Vaïrā (Vajrā) śākhā".[54] The Vaïrā (Vajrā) Śākhā is clearly the Vajrī Śākhā of the Kalpa Sūtra.

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 19, records the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Thāniya kula, the Śrīgṛiha sambhoga and the Aryya-Verī (Ārya-Vajrī) śākhā.[55] The Ārya-Vajrī Śākhā and the Thāniya Kula may be identified with the Vajrī Śākhā and Vāṇīya Kula of the Kalpa Sūtra. Again, this Śākhā and Kula are mentioned in the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā, dated in the years 31 and 52. The former records "The [Koṭṭi]ya (gaṇa), the Aryya-Verī (Ārya-Vajrī) śākhā, the Thāṇiya (Sthāniya) kula"[56] and the latter mentions "The Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Verā (Vajrā) śākhā, the Sthānikiya kula".[57] Another undated Jaina inscription from Mathurā, also, records "The Sthānikiya (kīya) kula".[58]

There is a badly damaged Jaina inscription from Mathurā, which gives the names of a Śākhā and a Kula of the Koṭṭiya Gaṇa. Bühler says that the chief value of this inscription "Consists in the mention of the Majhamā śakhā and the Pa-vaha-ka kula, which latterI have formerly

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54. Ep. Ind, II, no. XX, p.204.
55. Ibid, I, no. III, pp.382-83.
56. Ibid, II, no. XV, pp.202-03.
57. Ibid, No. XVIII, pp.203-04.
58. Ibid, no. XXIX, p.207.

identified with the Preśnavahanaka or Paṇhavāhaṇaya kula of the Jaina tradition".[59] The Majhamā Śākhā may be identified, according to Saletore, with the Madhyamikā of the Kalpa Sūtra.[60]

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated inthe year 18, records "A gani out of the [Kotti] ya gaṇa ....., out of the ..... saṁbhoga, out of Vachchhaliya (Vātsalīya) kula".[61] It is clear that this Kula can be identified with the Vātsalīya of the Kalpa Sūtra.

The Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 20, records "The Brahmadāsiya kula, the Uchchenāgarī śākhā".[62] This Śākhā and Kula can be identified with the Uccanāgarī Śākhā and the Brahmaliptaka Kula of the Kalpa Sūtra. There are many other Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā, as for instance, The Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā of the years 5 and 25, and an undated Jaina inscription from Mathurā,[63] which record this Śākhā and Kula.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the word 'Saṁbhoga' has often been mentioned in the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā. The dictionary meaning of the word is 'enjoyment' in general.[64] Now, the Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the year 19, contains

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59. Ibid, p.205.
60. Saletore, L.C.A., p.558.
61. Ep. Ind. II, no. XIII, p.202.
62. Ibid, I, no. IV, pp.383-84.
63. Ibid, no.I, pp.381-82; no.V, p.384; no. XIV, p.389.
64. V.S.Apte, The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, second edition, Bombay, 1922, p.591.

as has already been seen, the expression "the Śrīgriha Sambhoga"[65]. Bühler postulates that the word 'Sambhoga' here has a different meaning. According to him, it means a 'district community'[66]. It may be noted that some Jaina inscriptions refer first to the Gana, then to the Kula and lastly to the Sambhoga[67], though, there are, also, exceptions, in which the terms Gana, Kula, and Sambhoga appear in different orders[68].

However, it is clear that the inscription amply prove the existence of different branches of organisation and teaching in the Jaina religion of the Kushān period.

The predominant religion in the Kushān Empire was, no doubt, Buddhism, as is evident from numerous Buddhist sculptures, archaeological remains and epigraphic records. Several inscriptions during the reign of Kanishka I and Huvishka mention two Buddhist sects, namely, the Mahāsanghikas and the Sarvāstivādins[69]. The former is mentioned in the Khanat (Wardak) Bronze Vase inscription of the year 51, and the latter is recorded in the Sahet-Mahet Umbrella Staff inscription, the Sahet-Mahet Buddhist

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65. See Supra.

66. Ep. Ind, I, p.379.

67. Ibid, I. no. IV, pp.383-84; no.VII, pp.385-86; no. XI, pp.387-88; no. XXVIII, p.395; no.XXXIV,p.397; II, no. XVIII, pp.203-04, no. XXXVI, p.209.

68. Ibid, I, no.III, pp.382-83; II, no.XIII, p.202.

69. cf. B.C.L.V., pt. I, Calcutta, 1945, p.284.

Image inscription of Kanishka I, the Kanishka Casket inscription of the year I, and the Zeda inscription of the year II.[70] During the reign of Kanishka I it seems that the Sarvāstivādins extended their influence over the masses. Dutt says, "It became very popular all over northern India and carried the palm in the days of Kanishka. It put into shade the oldest school of the Theravādins and was for sometime recognised as the best India exponent of Buddhism..... Kanishka became an ardent supporter of this sect and that accounts for its popularity all over northern India".[71]

It has already been seen that Kanishka I and Huvishka were supporters of Buddhism.[72] Among them, Kanishka I is traditionally famous for convoking the Buddhist Council in Kashmīr. According to Hiuen-Tsiang,[73] he studied the Buddhist scriptures in his leisure with the help of the instructions given by a monk everyday and noticed the different and contradictory interpretations of the texts. He learnt from the venerable Pārśva that since the death of the Buddha various conflicting theories had arisen. Having

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70. C.I.I., p.170; Ep. Ind., IX, p.291; Ibid, VIII, p.180f; C.I.I. p.137; Ibid, p.145.
71. B.C.L.V., pt. I, p.287.
72. See Supra, Chapter II.; E.H.I., pp.280-88.
73. Watters, Y.C.T. I, vol. I, p.270.

heard this, the King was greatly moved and desired to have the Tripiṭaka explained according to the tenets of the various schools. Consequently he summoned holy and wise Brethren from all over his realm to Gandhāra. As the number of these Brethren was too numerous, the King had to adopt a process for selecting a working council. Hiuen-Tsiang gives a lucid description of the mode of selection in his accounts. He says, 'First all had to go away who had not entered the saintly career - had not attained one to the four degrees of perfection. Then of those who remained all who were arhats were selected and the rest dismissed; of the arhats again those who had the 'three-fold intelligence' and the 'six-fold penetration' were retained; and these were further thinned out by dismissing all of them who were not thoroughly versed in the Tripiṭaka and well learned in the 'Five Sciences'. By this process the number of arhats for the Council was reduced to 499'.[74] After much consultation it was decided to hold the Council in Kashmīr;[75] so the King and the Arhats moved to Kashmīr and the King built a monastery there for the accommodation of the assembled persons.

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74. Ibid.
75. There is, however, difference of opinion regarding the place where the Assembly met, for details, see P.H.A.I., p.397, f.n.3.

The texts of the Tripiṭaka were collected for the purpose of making expository commentaries on them and Vasumitra, who was at first refused admission to the Assembly, not being an arhat, was invited to become the President of the Council and thus the number of holymen in the Council was raised to 500. Aśvaghoṣa, the famous author, was appointed Vice-President.[76] Hiuen-Tsiang goes on to record the working of the Council and says, "This Council ..... composed 100000 stanzas of Upadeśa śāstras explanatory of the canonical sūtras, 100000 stanzas of Vinaya-vibhāshā-śāstras explanatory of the Vinaya, and 100000 stanzas of Abhidharma-vibhāshā-śāstras explanatory of the Abhidharma. For this exposition of the Tripiṭaka all learning from remote antiquity was thoroughly examined; the general sense and the terse language (of the Buddhist scriptures) were again made clear and distinct, and the learning was widely diffused for the safe-guiding of disciples. King Kanishka had the treatises, when finished, written out on copper plates, and enclosed these in stone boxes, which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose. He then ordered the Yakshas to keep and guard the texts, and not to allow any to be taken out of the country by heretics; those who wished to study them could do so in the country".[77]

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76. E.H.I., p.283.
77. Watters, Y.C.T.I., vol. I, p.271.

After the completion of the work of the Assembly, Kanishka I renewed Aśoka's gift of the Kingdom of Kashmīr to the Buddhist Church before he returned to his own realm.[78]

We learn from Tāranātha that soon after Kanishka's Council, some monks of the Hīnayāna school arrived at anutpattikadharma-kshānti (belief in the non-origination of all things) and began to incline to Mahāyānist teachings.[79] About this time there appears to have been a great demand for Mahāyānist teachings from all parts of India. Thus, it is clear that the Mahāyāna School and its fundamental doctrines achieved a marked development immediately after Kanishka's Council.

It is sometimes claimed by scholars that Mahāyāna Buddhism was virtually a new departure; but this is not wholly correct. The doctrines and theories, which were professed by the followers of the Mahāyāna, were embedded in Hīnayāna long before its rise.[80] Dutt points out, "Mahāyānic ideas were for the first time introduced by the Mahāsaṅghikas and their off shoots about the fourth / / / /

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78. Si-Yu-Ki, vol. I, p.271.

79. N.Dutt, Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinayana, London, 1930, p.40.

80. S.K. Aiyangar, Manimekhalai In Its Historic Setting, London, p.102.

century B.C. but they adhered to Hīnayānic principles".[81] He further says, "The Mahāsaṅghikas may have been the forerunners of Mahāyāna, but it is clear that the Sarvāstivādins contributed much to the growth of Mahāyāna in some way or other ".[82]

Dutt has, also, drawn our attention to the special characteristics, which distinguish the Mahāyāna from the Hīnayāna. He says, "Generally speaking, Mahāyānism is associated with (i) the conception of the Bodhisattva, (ii) the practice of the Pāramitās, (iii) the development of Bodhicitta, (iv) the ten stages (bhumi) of spiritual development, (v) the goal of Buddhahood, (vi) the conception of Trikāya, and (vii) the conception of Dharmaśūnyatā or Dharmatāmatā or Tathatā. The Mahāyānists distinguish themselves by saying that they seek the removal of both Kleśāvaraṇa and jñeyavaraṇa and this is possible by the realisation of both pudgalaśūnyatā and dharmaśūnyatā. The Hīnayānists realise only the former, and thereby remove kleśāvaraṇa. They, therefore, attain vimukti (emancipation) from kleśas, and as far as this is concerned, they are on the same footing with the Mahāyānists, viz. dharmaśūnyatā, because they do not remove jñeyavaraṇa. The Hīnayānists, however, do not admit their inferiority with

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81. Cu. He. In., vol. I, p.284.
82. Dutt, A.M.B.H., pp.27-28.

regard to jñāna, for they consider that the destruction of avidyā (ignorance of truth) or, in other words, acquisition of true knowledge is the only means to emancipation and this is effected by Arhats in the same way as by Buddhas. The Arhats are very often mentioned in the Pāli works as attaining sambodhi. They, however, admit that Buddhas, on account of their superior merits (technically, gotra), due to their long practice of meritorious actions, attain some powers and privileges, and also omniscience, which are beyond the reach of the Arhats. This is, in short, the relative position of the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists".[83]

The Kushān Dynasty is particularly famous in history for the fact that under it was probably first produced the Buddha figure. The Romano-Buddhist art of Gandhāra illustrates the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[84] It would seem that the acceptance of the Buddha figure was a mark of the Mahāyāna. On Kushān coins, also, the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism is clearly marked since Kanishka I issued both gold and copper coins bearing the Buddha figure.[85]

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83. Ibid, pp.34-35.
84. See Infra, Chapter - Kushān Art and Culture.
85. The Buddha figure probably appears on the coins of Kadphises I as well; for discussion, see Supra, Chapter II.

On the gold coins the legend is simply Buddha and on the copper coins it is Śakya Muni Buddha.[86] At Mathurā a splendid Buddhist monastery bore the name of Huvishka[87] and it, no doubt, owed its existence to his munificence, for, like Kanishka I, he was a liberal patron of Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions.[88] Apart from this archaeological evidence, the teechings of Nāgārjuna and the writings of Aśvaghoṣa[89] added ample materials for the glorification of Buddhism.[90]

During the Kushān period Hindu society constituted of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Kadphises II patronized Śaivism, which became predominant in his time; but when Kanishka I ascended the throne, great changes occurred in the texture of Indian Society. Buddhism came as a challenge against the rigid Brāhmanical caste-system.[91]

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86. Num. Chron., 3rd series, vol. XII, 1892, pp.62,80,81, 158, 159; see Supra.
87. cf. Lüders List no. 62, Ep. Ind., X, Appendix, p.13.
88. E.H.I., pp.286-87; see Infra, Chapter- Kushān Art and Culture.
89. See Infra.
90. A.K. Coomaraswamy, Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism, London, 1916, pp.303 ff, 319; see Infra.
91. The word 'Caste' is derived apparently through the Portuguese 'Casta', from the Latin 'Castus,' 'pure', L.D.Barnett, Antiquities of India, London, 1913, p.132, f.n.1.

Naturally, it drew its strength chiefly from the lower classes, who were, indeed, attracted by the progressive spirit of the New faith. If Jayaswal's identification of Kshatrapa Vanashpara with Viśvasphati (ka), Viśvaphāni, Vimvasphāti of the Purāṇas is accepted,[92] it is clear that there was a clash between Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism of that time. Jayaswal says, "He (that is, Vanashpara) made the population practically Brāhmaṇless. He depressed high class Hindus and raised low-caste men and foreigners to high positions. He abolished the Kshatriyas and created a new ruling caste. He made his subjects un-Brāhmaṇical. The same policy was followed by the latter Kushāns.....a policy of social tyranny and religious fanaticism - both actuated by political motives."[93] He continues, "These mlechchha rulers felt the ignominy which the Brāhmaṇic system of the society automatically imposed upon them and they tried various means to destroy that social system which excluded them."[94] A study of the archaeological evidence of the period, however, makes it clear that Jayaswal's thesis, based on Brāhmaṇa propaganda, requires some modifications. It is possible that during its early

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92. See Supra, Chapter II.

93. Jayaswal, H.I., p.42.

94. Ibid, pp.43-44.

stage Buddhism clashed with the Brāhmaṇic system of society. As the lower classes of the Hindu population were attracted by the liberal ideas of Buddhism, they defied the religious bigotry of the Brāhmaṇas and demanded equal social status with the higher class. The greatness of Buddhism lies, to some extent, in this idea of social liberalism; such an idea was totally foreign to Hindu society, which was under the wheel of the tyranny of the Brāhmaṇas, who exploited the common people for their personal gain. Thus, it can be said that Brāhmaṇic tyranny made Buddhism popular among the down-trodden masses.[95] It is clear from the numismatic evidence[96] that in spite of the rise of Buddhism under the patronage of Kaniṣhka I, the King was tolerant towards other religions. Again, the coin-types of Huviṣhka show how he paid homage to a wide range of deities. His successor Vāsudeva became an ardent follower of Śiva and this redevelopment of Brāhmaṇism most probably continued during the time of other later Kushāṇ Kings. However, it is clear that though there might have been some clash at the early stage between Buddhism and Hinduism, the Kushāṇ Kings had, on the whole, a liberal outlook and patronised equally various religions prevalent

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95. Cf. B. Dutta, Studies in Indian Social Polity, Calcutta, 1944, p.310.
96. See Supra.

at the time. The tradition of religious toleration is discernable in later Indian history, specially under the Pālas.

Numerous inscriptions show that people of different social standing, including aristocrats, high officials, nuns, bikshus and artificers, followed freely the religion of their choice and made donations and gifts for the purpose of attaining religious merit. The Mathurā Stone inscription of Huvishka of the year 28, records provisions made for hundred Brāhmaṇas and, also, for the hungry and thirsty poor.[97] The British Museum Stone inscription of the year 10 mentions the dedication of a temple.[98] Several Buddhist inscriptions record the dedication of images of Śākyamuni

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97. Ep. Ind., XXI, p.60 f.
98. Ibid, IX, p.240.

or Bodhisattva or the Buddha,[99] or gift of an umbrella with a post or stick,[100] or of relics,[101] or gift of a staff 'Yaṭhi' and enclosure,[102] or dedication of the base of pillar.[103] A number of Jaina inscriptions record the

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99. Some of the inscriptions are :- Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription, year 51, Ibid, X, p.113, no.6; Sārnāth Buddhist Image inscription, year3, Ibid VIII, p.173 ff; Sāñchī Buddhist Image inscription, year 28, Ibid, II, p.369, IX, p.344; Sahet-Mahet Buddhist Image inscription of Kanishka I, Ibid, VIII, p.180f; Mathurā Buddhist Image inscription,year 33, Ibid VIII, p.181 f; Bombay University Library Buddhist Image inscription, year 43, Lüders' List, no.43, Ibid, X, Appendix, p.9.

100. As for example, Sārnāth Buddhist Image inscription, year 3, see Supra; Sahet-Mahet Buddhist Image inscription, see Supra.

101. Kanishka Casket inscription, year 1, C.I.I., p.137; Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of a Kushān King, year 136, Ibid, p.177; Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase inscription, year 51, Ibid, p.170; Mānikyāla Stone inscription, year 18, Ibid, pp.149-50.

102. Sui Vihār Copper-plate inscription, year 11, Ibid, p.141

103. Mathurā Buddhist inscription on base of pillar, year 77, Lüders' List, no.62, Ep. Ind, X, Appendix, p.13.

gift of various images.[104]

It is interesting to note that several inscriptions show that irrigation enterprises for the public benefit were undertaken by benefactors for the purpose of acquiring divine merit. The Ārā inscription of Kanishka II of the year 41 alludes to a well dug by Dashavhara in honour of his mother and father, for the benefit of himself, his wife, son and for the welfare of all beings in the various births.[105] The Zeda inscription of the year 11, also, mentions the digging of a well.[106] Sometimes gifts of trees were made for the purpose of providing shade for travellers and thereby acquiring religious merit. The Panjtār Stone inscription of the year 122 records such a gift.[107]

In many donative inscriptions, both in Kharoshthī and Brāhmī, the donors are associated with their parents, wives, sons and brothers. This clearly shows how strong were the moral ties, which kept the various members of the family together, specially on ceremonial occasions. During this period the idea of kinship was,

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104. Some of these are : Mathurā Jaina Image inscriptions, years 4, 83, 84, Lüder's List, nos. 48, 68, 69a, Ibid, pp.10, 14, 168; Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā, years 5, 15, 20, 18. Ibid, I, nos. 1,2,3, pp. 381-83, II, no. 13, p.202.
105. C.I.I., p.165.
106. Ibid, p.145.
107. Ibid, p.70.

also, highly developed as is evident from the fact that the donors in many cases shared the merits of the donations with their blood relations and kinsmen.[108]

The position of women in society was, indeed, obviously high. There are numerous donative inscriptions, which show that they made valuable gifts in their own right to various institutions for religious purposes. These testify that they enjoyed a great degree of personal freedom. All classes of women were able to make these religious gifts. If Jayaswal's dating of Yājñavalkya is accepted,[109] Hindu women in the Kushān period had the right to inherit property. According to him, this high female status was achieved owing to the liberal ideas of the prevailing Buddhism. He says, "Buddhism had conquered the Hindu mind. Its influence on the Buddhists and non-Buddhists were alike in matter of outlook towards man and women and their mutual rights. Buddhism had enfranchised women. The nun was an equal of the monk. The gates of the spiritual and religious rights were equally open to the despised women as to the self-styled god of the earth. Nuns' sisterhood could and

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108. Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of a Kushān King, see Supra; Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase inscription, year 51, see Supra.

109. See Supra, chapter - Economic Conditions.

did hold property as much as monks' brotherhood. The conscience of the lawyers questioned, "Why should not women hold property at law ?"[110]

A number of Kushān inscriptions indicate the existence of polygamy in contemporary society. The Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā of the years, 15, 19, 20 and 40, show that the Grāmika (village headman) Śreshṭhin (Chief Warden) and common people sometimes had more than one wife.[111] However, it can be said that this practice was not widely followed, as numerous donative inscriptions show the predominence of monogamy.

The sculptures from Gandhāra and Mathurā throw light on the costume worn in Kushān times. In North Western India besides the typical Indian 'dhoti', 'dupaṭṭa', and turban for men, non-Indian dress was, also, worn, such as the tunic, trousers, heavy boots and pointed caps whose origin can be traced to Persia or Central Asia.[112] Rich men seem to have worn a long 'dhoti' falling to the ankles in graceful folds, a shawl usually covering the shoulders and rolled round the left arm and then flung back in folds weighted down by a heavy tassel. Sometimes the shawl

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110. J.M.Y, p.234; cf. B.C. Paul, The Development of Marriage in Ancient India, Thesis accepted for the Ph.D., 1949, University of London, p.165.
111. Ep. Ind, I, no.2, p.382; Ibid, nos. 3, 4, pp.382-84, Ibid, I, no. XI, pp.387-88, cf. Lüders' List no.48, Ibid, X, Appendix, p.10.
112. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.66; J.I.S.O.A., VIII, 1940, p.187.

leaves the torso wholly uncovered. Sometimes it covers the whole chest, leaving the right shoulder bare.[113] The 'dhoti' was fastened by a plain or plaited waist-band.[114] The hair was sometimes tied into a top-knot and various types of turban, spiral shaped, light or heavy, were worn.[115] In order to keep the turban in shape, clasps of various designs were used.[116] The tunic was worn tucked in either to the right or left, and sometimes long over-coats were worn over it. Various types of caps were used, skull-shaped, conical or domed.[117]

Women wore a three-piece costume; the shawl covered the shoulders, hanging down from the arms; the sleeved tunic enveloped the upper part of the body, while a waist-cloth was used to cover the lower part. Moti Chandra speaks of the use of skirts and petticoats, but this is by no means clear. The established Indian breast-band was, however, used and 'saris' were worn in different styles.[118]

The Mathurā sculptures of the Kushān period record the costumes, worn by Indians and, also, by foreigners. The Indians generally wore the 'dhoti', 'dupatta',

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113. J.I.S.O.A., VIII, 1940, pp.196-97.
114. Ibid, p.197.
115. Saletore, I.C.A., p.396.
116. J.I.S.O.A, VIII, 1940, p.199.
117. Ibid, pp.200,203.
118. Ibid, pp.203-05.

various types of turban and a decorative waist-band falling down between the knees. Wealthy people, obviously, wore various types of 'Kamarband' to keep the 'dhoti' in place.[119] The foreigners' costume consisted of a tunic, trousers, cap and high boots; a typical example of such a costume is that worn by the headless image of Kanishka I.[120]

The women generally wore a 'sari' reaching to the ankles, held to the waist by elaborate girdles, and a folded 'dupatta' covering both shoulders with its ends hanging down, while foreign women in Mathurā seem to have worn the tunic as well. Sometimes, however, the dupatta was not worn. Generally the women of Mathurā did not cover their heads, though occasionally they used a veil and turban.[121]

The Gandhāra and Mathurā sculptures reveal, also, the current practices of dressing their hair in the Kushān period. In the former we find that the men generally wore long hair and tied it up in a knot at the top of the head, while at times curled locks fell on either side, as well down the back.[122] As a general rule the women in Gandhāra wore their hair dressed in the shape of a spiral at the top of their head or in a top-knot. In

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119. Ibid, pp.207-08.
120. Ibid, p.208.
121. Ibid, pp.211-14.
122. Ibid, p.110.

some cases a part of the hair was arranged in a top-knot and a few curled locks were allowed to fall down the back. The hair was, also, plaited in a single pigtail, falling down the back or braided into a looped knot. This pigtail was often decorated with a net made of pearls and rosettes. The chaplet often worn round the head had the form of a laurel wreath, fitting closely to the hair and tying at the back.[123] The Mathurā sculptures show that the men usually appear to have tied up their hair into a top-knot; the women parted their hair at the sides of the head and tied it into a knot on top of the crown of the head. But other fashions such as the parting of the hair in the centre were, also, popular with the women.[124]

In the Kushān period the Vīṇā was the most popular musical instrument. According to Aśvaghoṣa, it, also, formed a necessary piece of furniture in the rooms of the inhabitants of the towns, on which they played almost every evening. Such a Vīṇā in the room of Nanda reminds the bereaved Sundarī of her absent husband.[125] Another popular instrument was the Mṛdaṅga. Aśvaghoṣa speaks of songs sung to the accompaniment of the Mṛdaṅgas and of music produced on the Mṛdaṅgas struck by the fingers of

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123. Ibid, p.111.
124. Ibid, p.113; Saletore, L.G.A., p.397.
125. Aśvaghoṣa, The Buddhacarita, ed. by E.H.Johnston, London, 1932, vi, 32, p.33.

women.[126] Of wind instruments the flute of bamboo (Vaṁśa) is mentioned by Vātsyāyana.[127] In the Buddhacarita it is called Veṇu and is generally associated with the Vīṇā; women play upon it.[128]

It is understandable that during the Kushān period the monasteries were the centres of learning.[129] Many notable Buddhist teachers like Pārśva and others are recorded as being in charge of teaching.[130] As a result of this, great progress was clearly made in the domain of religious education, but owing to the paucity of records, it is impossible to study the educational system of the period in general.

The cultural supremacy of the Kushān Empire was attained as the result of the contributions made by contemporary great men. In this connection the names of Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa, Pārśva, Vasumitra and Caraka are worth noting. These men played an important part in the religious, literary, scientific and philosophical activities of the time. It has already been seen[131] that the growth of Mahāyāna Buddhism was greatly advanced by the spiritual leadership of Nāgārjuna. Winternitz says,

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126. Aśvaghoṣa, The Buddhacarita, ed. by E.H.Johnston, Calcutta, 1936, part 2, ii, 30, p.25.
127. Vātsyāyana, Kāmasūtra, sūtra, 43, as quoted by H.C. Chakladar, Sidelights on Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, A.M.S.J.V., p.374.
128. Bud., V, 49, p.70.
129. R.K.Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, London, 1947. p.527.
130. See Supra, Chapter I.
131. See Supra.

"The fact of his being the founder of one of the most important schools of the Mahāyāna, namely the Madhyamaka school accounts for this high degree of veneration;[132] for there is not a shadow of a doubt that he is the author of the Mādhyamika-Kārikās or Mādhyamika-Sūtras which present in a systematic manner the Śūnyavada which is taught in the Mahāyāna-Sūtras".[133] From Kumārajīva, who translated the biography of Nāgārjuna into Chinese, we learn that he was born as a Brāhmana in Southern India and that he studied the Vedas and all the Sciences.[134] Hiuen-Tsiang says that he was a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa.[135] According to Kalhana's Rājatarangini, the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna was 'the sole lord of the land' in Kashmīr at the period of the Kings Huvishka, Jushka

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132. cf. A. Barth, The Religions of India, transl. by Rev. J. Wood, London, 1906, p.115.
133. M. Winternitz, A. History of Indian Literature, transl. by Mrs Ketkar and Miss H. Kohn, University of Calcutta, 1933, vol. II, p.344.
134. Ibid, p.342.
135. Ibid; Takakusu, also, holds the same opinion, J. Takakusu, An introduction to I-tsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago (A.D.671-695), Oxford, 1896, p.lix.

and Kaniṣhka.[136] It has already been seen that the Kaniṣhka of the Rājataraṅgiṇī may be identified with Kaniṣhka II,[137] and, therefore, Raychaudhuri conjectures that "It is possible that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary, not of Kaniṣhka I, but of Kaniṣhka II and Huviṣhka".[138] In the Tibetan chronicles Nāgārjuna appears as a legendary figure.[139] Tradition makes it plain that the spiritual influence of Nāgārjuna at this period was very great, as a result of which he was highly honoured by the Kushāns.

The greatest of the literary men, who made the Kushān period famous in the history of India, is Aśvaghoṣa. It has already been observed that he was carried off by Kaniṣhka I after the conquest of Pāṭaliputra,[140] and that he was appointed vice-president of the Buddhist Council and that his writings popularised Buddhism in that period.[141] He was born as a Brāhmaṇa and was well-versed

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136. K.R.,I, 173, p.31.
137. See Supra, Chapter II.
138. P.H.A.I., p.397, f.n.5.
139. W.H.I.L., p.343.
140. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, he was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, who in the Rājataraṅgiṇī is said to have lived during the time of Huviṣhka and Kaniṣhka. As the Kaniṣhka of the Rājataraṅgiṇī may be identified with Kaniṣhka II, it is possible that Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Kaniṣhka II and not of Kaniṣhka I, see Supra and, also, Chapter II.
141. See Supra.

in all departments of Brahmanical learning, including knowledge of the Veda and of the ritual literature, as well as mastery of all the sciences.[142] That he was a follower of the Hīnayāna and took his stand on the earlier doctrine admits of little doubt; but he was an earnest believer and his emphasis on personal love and devotion to the Buddha perhaps prepared the way for Mahāyāna Bhakti.[143] The Chinese and Tibetan translations attribute to him a number of doubtful works; these are : Mahāyana - Śraddhotpāda - Sūtra, Vajrasūcī, Gaṇḍī - stotra - gāthā, Sutralaṃkāra.[144] The three works, which are known for certain to be Aśvaghoṣa's, are : the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda and the Śāriputra - prakaraṇa.[145] The first is a life of the Buddha in a twenty-eight cantos, of which only numbers two to thirteen are extent in their entirety in Sanskrit, together with three quarters of the first canto and the first quater of the first canto and the first quater of the fourteenth. An excellent edition of it is made by comparison with the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The second work has for its subject the conversion of the Buddha's half-brother Nanda. It consists of eighteen cantos, preserved in full in Sanskrit. The third

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142. Bud., p. xviii E.
143. W.H.I.L., p.297.
144. A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period, Vol. I, General editor, S. N. Das Gupta, Calcutta University, 1947, pp.71-72.
145. Ibid, p.73.

is a nine-act play, with the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana for its theme.[146] Aśvaghoṣa may be called the first known kāvya-poet of eminence.[147] Johnston says, "In his verses we catch glimpse of a man of artistic temperament and strong passions, delighting in everything that appeals to the senses, yet finding no sure foothold anywhere till he seeks refuge in Buddhism".[148]

According to Chinese sources, Caraka was the medical adviser of King Kanishka.[149] The Caraka Saṁhitā clearly shows the progress made in Indian medical science in that age.[150].

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146. Bud, pp. xviiiff.
147. H.S.L., p.13.
148. Bud., p. xcvi.
149. W.H.I.L., p.257, f.n.1.
150. For details, see J.R.A.S., 1909, pp.886ff.

CHAPTER VI

KUSHĀN ART AND CULTURE

It is not easy to give a concise account of the fine arts of the Kushān period owing to the controversies involved. Repeated attempts have been made by archaeologists to come to a general agreement regarding the problems implicated, but unfortunately these efforts so far have only widened the gulf of disagreement. Moreover, in their study of the period, archaeologists have neglected the pottery, which is the alphabet of archaeology. In this chapter attempts have been made to study the arts of the Kushān period comprehensively, together with the most important archaeological sites. The available materials are sculpture, architecture, terracottas and pottery.

In the Kushān period the development of sculpture was focussed on two separate regions. To the North-west in Gandhāra, under foreign influence, the art followed a path quite distinct from contemporary Indian types. The title Gandhāran is, therefore, valid. In India proper, at Mathurā, a school of sculpture grew up in a purely Indian environment, open only to indigenous influences. What is usually referred to as Kushān sculpture, that is to say, the works in the well-known local red sandstone, is Mathurā sculpture. It has already been seen that Ptolemy refers to Mathurā as 'The city of the gods', perhaps

to distinguish it from the other Madurā in the south.[1] In any case it was a city of studios, for distinctive Mathurā sculptures are found far afield in India. Under the Kushān kings both types of sculpture flourished. Enormous sums of money must have been spent on contemporary buildings and their decoration. As far as this evidence goes the people must have been prosperous.[2]

Just as the chronology of the Kushān dynasty is disputed, there exists great uncertainty regarding the dates of both Gandhāra and Mathurā sculptures. Fergusson placed the flourishing period of the Gandhāran art in about the year A.D.400 and its duration from the first century B.C. to the eighth century A.D.[3]

Grünwedel comes to the conclusion that "The period of development is limited.....between the birth of Christ and the fifth century A.D."[4]

Vogel holds that "It is a point on which most authorities agree, that the palmy days of Buddhism and Buddhist art in Gandhāra coincide with that of Kanishka. This is somewhat more than a hypothesis."[5]

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1. See Supra, Chapter I.
2. See Supra, Chapter - Economic conditions.
3. J.Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1876, pp.181-82.
4. A.Grünwedel, Buddhist Art in India, trans.by A.C.Gibson, revised and enlarged by J.Burgess, London, 1901, p.85.
5. Vogel, Inscribed Gandhara Sculpture, A.S.I., A.R.1903-04, pp.258-59.

Smith says, "Without going into complicated antiquarian discussions, it may suffice here to say that none of the sculptures are later than A.D.600, few, if any, later than A.D.400, and that in all probability extremely few are earlier than the Christian era. The culmination of the art of the school may be dated from about A.D.50 to A.D.150 or 200. It is quite safe to affirm that the works of good quality belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Thus the best productions of the Gandhāra Indo-Hellenistic school nearly synchronize with the art of the Flavian and Antonine periods in Western Asia and Europe, and in India with the reliefs on the great rail at Amarāvati in the Deccan, as well as with many sculptures at Mathurā on the Jumna."[6]

Cedrington, in analysing Foucher's views, points out that he has changed his view-point more than once - "Foucher originally accepted Senart's three-point chronology, based on the Kanishka coins, the Hellenism of Amarāvatī and Hiuen-Tsiang's 7th century account of ruined Gandhāra, as the foundations of the first part of his great work. In the second volume the view-point is altered by a direct comparison between the earliest Indo-Greek coins and Gandhāran sculpture, "the very spirit of Hellenism itself". By Gandhāra is meant the Kābul and Swāt river districts

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6. V.A.Smith, A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1930, pp.52-53.

and Foucher considers it to have been the actual breeding-place of the art he calls by its name, a Greek ruling class supplying the channel for the fusion of the two cultures. Cunningham's idea of a half-Greek population is rejected, but Alexander's marriage with Roxane and Seleukos Nikator's matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta are both quoted. The use of the Greek script and tongue and of the Macedonian calendar are brought forward, and the Greek origin of Indian medicine and drama is upheld. The Greek or semi-Greek artist is postulated as the "complement of this intimate intermixture of the East and the West," and the purely Hellenistic finds at Taxila lie at the very roots of Gandhāran art, of which they are, as it were, the first chapter. The beginnings of Gandhāran art must therefore be dated in the 2nd century B.C., the process of its inception and growth being explained by the imaginative conception of Greek and Indian culture incarnate as Indian donor and Western artist."[7.] To Codrington's summary of Foucher's view one fact can now be added: the classical antiquities found at Taxila and Begrām are now acknowledged to be first century A.D. and Roman, not Greek.

Coomaraswamy thinks that "All, that can be safely said, is that the Gandhāra school of Graeco-Buddhist

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7. Codrington, Anc. Ind., p.51.

sculpture may date from the first century B.C., probably antedates Kanishka, and certainly attains its greatest expansion in his reign, and that it continues an abundant production in the third and fourth centuries, with increasing Indianisation both there and in Kashmir".[8]

Rowland is of the opinion that Gandhāran art came into existence after the middle of the first century A.D. and that it had its flourishing period from the end of the second century A.D. till the beginning of the fourth century A.D.[9] He further adds, "Considered as a part of the stylistic development of the Late Antique world, there is every reason to suppose that the great majority of these so-called Graeco-Buddhist carvings are the result of a sudden and intensive mass production that began no earlier than the second century A.D. and was almost entirely the work of artisans imported from the Roman East".[10]

Buchtal proved by comparative methods that the art of Gandhāra was alive from the second to the fifth century A.D.[11]

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8. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.52.
9. B. Rowland, Jnr., A Revised Chronology of Gandhara Sculpture, The Art Bulletin, vol. 18, Chicago, 1936, pp.387-400.
10. B. Rowland, Jnr., Gandhara and Late Antique Art: The Buddha Image, Supplement to the American Journal of Archaeology, vol. XLVI, 1942, p.224.
11. H. Buchtal, The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture, P.B.A, vol. XXXI, London, 1945, p.16. The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhara Sculpture, Transactions of the Ceramic Society, vol. XIX, 1942-43, London 1945, p.21f; J.R.A.S. 1943, pp.137-48; The Haughton Collection of Gandhara Sculpture, The Burlington Magazine, vol. 86, 1945, pp.68-73.

However, recently Leeuw has supported Rowland and she says that the golden age of Gandhāra continued from the middle of the second century down to the beginning of the fourth century A.D.[12] Thus, there exists a wide difference of opinions among archaeologists regarding the date of the Gandhāran art and this problem is yet alive.

Underlying the presentation of the archaeological argument one can discern an aesthetic debate. It is assumed that Gandhāran art represents western art in India. As such it was familiar to western eyes and was easily appreciated. Its decline must, therefore, be a process of Indianisation. In estimating the aesthetic excellence of the many sculptures recovered by him at Takht-i-Bāhī, Spooner expresses the view that, the more Hellenistic those sculptures are, the older they must be; that, as time goes on, they become more and more mechanical and meaningless; and that the latest examples are mere Oriental grotesque, wholly devoid of beauty or spirituality.[13] Marshall, says, "No one, I imagine, is likely to dispute the general truth of Dr. Spooner's proposition, which is admitted, so far as I know, by every competent archaeologist who has made a study of Gandhāran art; though doubtless, if

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12. Leeuw, S.P., p.119.

13. A.S.I., A.R., 1907-08, pp.147-48.

the date of every sculpture produced by that school could be ascertained, plenty of exceptions would be found among them to the general rule."[14] He further adds, "Indian art did not, in this case, oust the Hellenistic tradition. It was the decay of the latter which rendered possible the birth and growth of an indigenous Indian school."[15] Leeuw, however, rightly points out, "The appreciation of art as being 'good' or 'bad' is very subjective, and in itself this reason makes the maxim 'the better the older' very dangerous."[16]

It is interesting to note that early Indian sculpture is largely dependent on the development of Buddhism and its religious necessities. In Hīnayāna Buddhism the Buddha is not a god and his presence is symbolized in art by certain fixed symbols: wheel, footprints, tree or throne.[17] As the result of the dominance of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India, on the other hand, the Buddha assumes the stature of a god who becomes the central commanding figure among the masses that participate in the scene. Describing this innovation in sculpture Rawlinson says, "Buddha was no longer a dead teacher, but a living Saviour God, the last

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14. Ibid, p.40.

15. Ibid.

16. Leeuw, S.P., p.90.

17. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.45

of a long series of incarnations (Bodhisattvas) for the redemption of the human race. The sculptors of Sāñchī and Bhārhut had a puritanical objection to the representation of the Master in human form; his birth was symbolized by a lotus-flower, his conversion by a bodhi tree, his first sermon by the wheel of the law, and his death by a stūpa. Kanishka and his contemporaries had no such scruple and Greeks from Asia Minor were employed to decorate the stūpas and monasteries of Gandhāra in the north-western Punjab with figures of the Buddha and representations of episodes in his life. The appearance of the Buddha image marks a revolution in Indian iconography.[18]

The Buddhism illustrated by the Gandhāran sculptures is of the Mahāyāna school, though Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang make it plain that many Hīnayāna monasteries existed. Smith says, "The subjects treated are not only Buddhist but purely Indian. Buddha may appear in the guise of Apollo, the god Brahma in that of St.Peter, or a door-keeper in that of Pallas Athene, but however Greek may be the form, the personages and incidents are all Indian, and centre round the person of Buddha, whose image dominates the compositions. Herein lies the most obvious and at the

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18. H.G.Rawlinson, India: The Historical Background, p.18, in Indian Art, ed. by Sir Richard Winstedt, London.

same time, perhaps, the most important difference between the ancient schools of interior India at Sāñchī, Bhārhut, or Bodh Gayā, and the school of Gandhāra, and the contemporary art of Mathurā and Amarāvati."[19] Smith's meaning here is not quite plain, nor will his generalisation hold. At Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonda the sculptures are inspired by the Buddha's life story and obviously have a literary origin. Gandhāran sculpture is, also, centred on the life story and is equally of literary origin. But the large scale figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are new; these originate at Mathurā. It was the emergence of the central figure for adoration and worship which marks the new departure.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the origin of the Buddha image. One school of thought claims that it was originated by the sculptors of Gandhāra under foreign influences, while others consider that Mathurā was the place where the Buddha image was first made, and hence, according to the latter school, the Buddha figure is of a pure Indian origin. Rawlinson says, "Did the practice of idolatry come to India from Greece? No sculptures of Buddha, or of any Hindu gods, are found in the early Hindu or Buddhist remains."[20] Dealing

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19. Smith, H.F.A.I.C., p.53.

20. H.G.Rawlinson, Bactria, London, 1912, p.141, f.n.1.

with this problem Coomaraswamy comes to the conclusion that "It is evident.....that a type of Buddha image had been created at Mathurā independently of any Hellenistic prototype; and that this Mathurā type was transported to many other sacred sites, for at the very beginning of Kanishka's reign we find Mathurā sending down images to the sacred sites of the Gangetic plains, thus setting examples to the sculptors of Benares and Gayā.[21] These facts, taken into consideration with the subsequent continuity of the tradition, and the obvious and natural relationship of Gupta to Kushān types, exclude the possibility of a "Greek origin of the Buddha image" in India. That in certain directions a Hellenistic element, plastic and iconographic, was absorbed into Indian art, and that the presence of this factor is sometimes unmistakeable, is all that can properly be asserted in this connection."[22]

Coomaraswamy mentions six objects which have been considered by those who uphold the priority of the Gandhāran Buddha image; these are the image of Loriyān Tāngai, a standing figure and a pedestal with a figure, both from Hashtnagar, the reliquaries of Bīmarān and of Kanishka, and finally a coin of Maues bearing a seated

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21. V.C.A.M.M., p.26.

22. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.52.

figure who is claimed by some scholars[23] to be the Buddha. He puts forward his objections to this theory[24] stressing the fact that the said three sculptures are dated in an unknown era and the casket of Bimarān was excavated uncritically. Moreover, he points out that Wilson himself was of the opinion that the stūpas of Afghānistān "Are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian era."[25] Furthermore, considering the decadent workmanship and character of the Buddha figures on the Kanishka reliquary made by Agisála, Foucher and others come to the conclusion that the period of the finest work must have started in the first century B.C.[26] Coomaraswamy opposes Foucher's view and says, "This is a rather bold inference to draw from the inferior workmanship of a single object, even though it would seem that it must have been one of importance."[27] He is supported by Marshall, who says that "Considerations of style do not permit us to determine the chronological sequence with any approach to accuracy."[28]

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23. See Infra.

24. A.K.Coomaraswamy, The Origin of the Buddha Image, The Art Bulletin, vol.IX, No.4, June, 1927, pp.319-23.

25. H.H.Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, London, 1841, p.322.

26. A.Foucher, L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara, II, p.443; A.S.I., A.R., 1908-09, p.50.

27. C.B.I., p.319.

28. C.H.I., p.648.

This argument of Marshall's goes beyond Coomaraswamy's statement, which was confined to the Kanishka reliquary. In every art at every period, a survey of the total number of works available, if they are sufficiently numerous, does display a chronological development. This history of art is dependent upon this organic process for its validity. It must be admitted, however, that a sufficiently wide corpus of Gandhāran sculptures, based upon exact geographical information, has not yet been compiled.

Concerning Coomaraswamy's objections to the priority of the Buddha image of Gandhāra, Leeuw holds, "Although Coomaraswamy's counter-arguments were rather weak, he nevertheless was on the right way."[29.]

It has already been noted that a coin of Maues is mentioned as proving the Gandhāran origin of the Buddha image. In point of fact the importance of this coin has been pointed out by Codrington.[30.] In this coin some scholars, namely, Smith and Dames,[31.] see a seated Buddha. Coomaraswamy, Whitehead and Bachhofer, however, have contradicted Smith and others because in their opinion the supposed Buddha figure is nothing more than a seated monarch.[32.] Recently Coomaraswamy and others are supported

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29. Leeuw, S.P., p.95.

30. Codrington, Anc.Ind, p.38, f.n.2.

31. J.A.S.B., vol.66, pt.I, 1879, p.300; J.R.A.S., 1914, p.793.

32. O.B.I., pp.302,323; Num.Chron., 5th series vol.XX,1940, pp.114-115; J.A.O.S., vol.61, 1941, pp.229-30.

by Leeuw.[33] However, Tarn ignores this identification made by Coomaraswamy and others and makes the said coin the starting point of a long discussion in order to conclude that the image of the Buddha existed in Gandhāra in the beginning of the first century B.C. at the latest and consequently it has priority over Mathurā images.[34]

However, it may be admitted that the controversy regarding the priority of the Buddha image of Gandhāra over that of Mathurā is by no means finally settled. Until new materials are discovered this problem will baffle the archaeologists in spite of sincere efforts to come to a definite conclusion. However, Coomaraswamy's compromising view regarding the origin of the Buddha image may be accepted. He says, "The only possible conclusion is that the Buddha figure must have been produced simultaneously probably in the middle of or near the beginning of the first century A.D. in Gandhāra and in Mathurā, in response to a demand created by the internal development of the Buddhism which was common ground in both areas; in each case by local craftsmen, working in the local tradition."[35]

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33. Leeuw, S.P., p.98.

34. Tarn, G.B.I., pp.399-408. It is to be noted that the so-called Buddha position was a common posture of daily life in the East and had already been portrayed on the Bhārhut reliefs.

35. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.60.

It has been debated whether Gandhāra sculptures represent Graeco-Buddhist or Romano-Buddhist art. Grünwedel says, " This distinction, however, must not be carried too far: it is one of age rather than of origin. Roman art had always been influenced by Greek taste and models, through the races of Greek descent in Southern Italy.....Roman art in sculpture and decorative invention was primarily Hellenic; the Greeks developed Roman architecture in their own facile creative way, even inventing new forms of ornaments and lavishing upon it their wealth of decorative taste. We may call the art of the early Christian centuries Roman, as being produced under Roman rule, but it was Greek minds that inspired and Greek hands that executed it."[36]

Marshall is of the opinion that it is erroneous to allege the influence of Roman art and Roman culture on Gandhāran art. He substantiates his point of view by saying that "From the time of the Seleucids onwards it was Western Asia that was the real centre of artistic effort in the ancient world. Western Asia was the crucible in which the arts of Greece and Ionia, of Persia and of Mesopotamia, were fused together; and it was from Western Asia that the streams of art flowed westward over the Roman Empire and eastward over Parthia, Turkistān and India. It is a mistake to suppose that Roman ideas affected to any great extent the plastic arts of Greece or Asia.

36. Grünwedel, B.A.I., p.84.

The converse was the case, and the art of Rome, therefore, stood in much the same relation to Hellenistic art as did the art of Gandhāra. In other words, Gandhāra art was the sister (or more correctly, perhaps, the cousin), not the daughter, of Roman art, both schools tracing their parentage to the same common stock; and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that the arts of Rome and of Gandhāra were distinguished by the same family likenesses."[37.]

Coomaraswamy holds, "Gandhāra art is iconographically in part, plastically almost together, a local phase of Hellenistic (not Roman - Roman art is cousin, not parent), descended from the art of the Greek period in Afghānistān and Punjab, but applied to themes of Indian origin. It may be described from one point of view as representing an eastward extension of Hellenistic civilization, mixed with Irānian elements, from another as a westward extension of Indian culture in western garb."[38.]

From the above passages, though it seems that Grünwedel, Marshall and Coomaraswamy are agreed in their opinion, they are unfortunately wrong. Buchthal rightly suggests that "In a general sense, the term "Greco-Buddhist" will.....be correct if it is taken to underline the persistence of the Hellenistic pictorial tradition in

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37. Marshall, G.T., p.33.

38. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.52.

India to the end of antiquity and beyond. If, on the other hand, it is taken to imply Greek art in contrast to Roman, as for instance by Monsieur Foucher who asserts time and again that Roman art had no part whatsoever in the formation of the Gandhāra school, it is definitely wrong. "Romano-Buddhist" would perhaps be a more appropriate term. It would apply to the art of the empire generally, which was basically the same throughout the Roman world; and it should be taken to indicate an epoch rather than a country."[39.]

Buchthal is ably supported by Wheeler when he says, "The dispute is an unreal one, and is linked up with old controversies long dead. 'Roman art' is generically the classical or semi-classical art of the world which was dominated by Rome; it varied specifically with varying local skills, temperaments and traditions; its main descent was from the art of the Hellenistic era, but to extend the term 'Hellenistic' into the Middle Empire is to confuse and impoverish our terminology. The Western art with which we are now concerned was a phase of the art of the Roman Empire. It was therefore 'Roman' in any reasonable usage of the term, and the related Buddhist art may properly be called (as Vincent Smith long ago in fact called it)[40.] 'Romano-Buddhist' art."[41.] Thus, it is clear

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39. Buchthal, F.F.C.C.S., p.30.
40. J.A.S.B., 1889, p.172.
41. Ant., vol.XXIII, March, 1949, p.8.

that the term 'Romano-Buddhist' would be the better and appropriate label of the art. The many Roman objects found at Taxila and Begrām provide the channel for this Roman influence. There is no need for generalisations concerning the Hellenistic world. Rome was in contact with India.

Though there exists a divergence in opinion among archaeologists regarding the influences that have asserted themselves from the West on Gandhāran art, there is no dispute that the ideas embodied in this art are Indian. Leeuw boldly asserts that "We can therefore take for granted that the influence from India on Gandhāra has been considerably greater than was generally assumed up till now."[42] Hence it may be suggested that Gandhāran art grew up by the direct influence of Western objects upon the substratum of Indian ideas. This harmonious blend of the two ultimately manifested itself in the innumerable master-pieces of Gandhāran art, which have been unearthed in North-west India. Wheeler rightly points out, "The resultant mingling of East and West yielded a composite art which can rarely be mistaken for a Western product but nearly always includes recognisably Western features; on the one hand the simulation of Western drapery, the use

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42. Leeuw, S.P., p.82.

of Western cupids, swags and other ornament, the adaptation of Roman Imperial types and scenes to the Buddha legend; and on the other hand the smooth reflection of a passive introspection that is entirely of the East. The 'extrovert' West and the 'introvert' East are thus paradoxically but skilfully combined. The spiritual content of this art remains oriental, its formulae are frequently and sometimes startlingly occidental."[43.]

Concerning the different mudrās used in the Gandhāran sculptures, Leeuw says, "In the beginning of Gandhāra art, and in the beginning of the golden age as well, almost only the abhayamudrā and the dhyanamudrā were used. The appearance of the dharmacakramudrā occurs in a later period."[44.] Burgess thinks that in Gandhāra only the seated figures in dharmacakramudrā or bhūmisparśamudrā have an uncovered right shoulder.[45.] But this is not wholly correct; because there are many examples of Buddha figures with uncovered right shoulders showing other mudrās like dhyanamudrā, abhoyamudrā, and also, of Buddha figures in

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43. Ant., vol.XXIII, March, 1949, p.7.

44. Leeuw, S.P., p.125.

45. J.Burgess, Buddhist Art in India, pp.172 sqq, as quoted by Leeuw, S.P., p.125.

dharmacakramudrā with both shoulders covered.[46] Leeuw's opinion regarding the peculiarities of the various images showing dharmacakramudrā may be summarised as follows:- The images show curly hair, uncovered right shoulder and feet which are typical of the Buddha from Mathurā, specially the latter two. Perhaps these are due to the influences of Mathurā that have asserted on Gandhāra in the middle of the second century A.D. at the earliest, but perhaps not even until a century afterwards. It is quite possible that the dharmacakramudrā itself is also imported from Mathurā, presumably towards the Gupta period. The fourth quality is the special delineation of the folds. This peculiarity can be reduced to two typical forms: firstly, the pleat round the right breast in those images having an uncovered right shoulder, and secondly, the loop under the right foot in those images having uncovered feet.[47]

It is well known that Gandhāran art extended its influence beyond the boundaries of India. It became the parent of the Buddhist art of Eastern or Chinese Turkistān, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan.[48] In India, proper, the remains of Gandhāran art are scattered mainly in Afghānistān, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab.

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46. For references, see Leeuw, S.P., p.125.

47. Ibid, pp.126ff.

48. Smith, H.F.A.I.C., p.66.

The Khaesta stūpa of Jalālābād has a magnificent basement and the lower part of the stūpa drum is decorated with niches and statues. A rich array of Gandhāran sculptures are, also, found in the Tappa Kalan monastery in Hadda. There are, also, large number of monasteries and caves in Bāmiān, as well as two colossal Buddha rock-cut images. Coomaraswamy holds that these remains do not antedate Kanishka I.[49] Godrington on the evidence of the frescoes on the niches attributes them to the Western Turks and suggests that they were new when Hiuen-Tsiang saw them at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.[50]

The famous ruins of Takht-i-Bāhī are situated in the heart of the Yūsufzai country, roughly speaking the centre of the ancient territory of Gandhāra. Abundant Gandhāra sculptures have been recovered from this site. An inscription of Gondopharnes dated in the year 104, that is, A.D.46, is found here.[51] Marshall observes, "The greater part of the remains at Takht-i-Bāhī can be shown to belong to.....the late third or fourth century A.D."[52]

Chinese travellers like Hiuen-Tsiang and others have described the great stūpa which Kanishka I built in Purushapura.[53] Dimensions of this stūpa are truly gigantic,

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49. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.53.
50. G.J., vol.CIV, Nos.3, 4, 1944, pp.88-89.
51. A.S.I., A.R., 1907-08, p.132.
52. Ibid, 1912-13, part I, p.17.
53. [illegible] See Supra, Chapter I.

making it the largest monument of its kind in India.[54] The relic casket of Kanishka was found in the relic chamber beneath the stūpa. It is a round metal vessel, 5 inches in diameter and 4 inches in height from the base to the edge of the lid. The lid supports three metal figures in the round, namely, a seated Buddha figure in the centre with a standing Bodhisattva figure on either side. In the casket there is a six-sided crystal reliquary measuring about 2⅛ inches x 1⅛ inches. The sacred relics consisting of three small fragments of bone are packed within the crystal. The casket, fitted with the lid supporting the said figures, has a total height of 7⅝ inches.[55] Describing the decoration of the casket itself and the lid Spooner says, "The only decoration of the upper surface of the lid consists of the incised petals of a full-blown lotus but the deep lid which fits on the top of the casket proper shows a highly ornamental band of geese or swans flying with wreaths in their bills, the whole being in low relief. As to the main body of the casket itself, the decoration consists of a series of three seated Buddha figures supported as it were, by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes with longer worshipping figures at intervals leaning out of the background toward the Buddhas which device, extending continuously around the casket,

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54. A.S.I., A.R., 1908-09, pp.39, 46.

55. Ibid, p.49.

terminates at a larger group of figures representing King Kanishka himself standing with an attendant on either side. Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me that the worshipping figures which are five in number, are haloed and, therefore, must represent divine beings. The two nearest the King have haloes which assume the shape of a radiating Sun and of a crescent respectively. These two figures he consequently identifies with the Sun and the moon god which occur with similar distinctives on some of Kanishka's gold coins where they are inscribed Miiro, Mairo, etc.(i.e.Mihira)and Mao."[56] Each of the two figures on the casket holds a wreath in his right and a sceptre (?) in his left hand. The sun-god is evidently shown in the act of crowning Kanishka with his wreath. The lid and the casket bear inscriptions mentioning the name of the architect Agisala.[57] Vogel says, "The relic casket of Kanishka.....exhibits the Hellenistic influence on Indian art in the final stage of its remarkable action."[58] Spooner supposes that the casket was produced when Gandhāran art was declining and consequently the origin of the school is considerably older. Arguing in this way, Spooner comes to the conclusion that "The theory held by some writers that the Buddhist

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56. Ibid, pp.49-50.

57. Ibid, pp.50, 52.

58. Ibid, p.33.

art of Gandhāra owed its origin, or at least reached its prime, under Kanishka, is no longer tenable."[59] Leeuw, on the other hand, does not agree with Spooner and Vogel in dating the casket at the end of the Gandhāran art because of its artistic degeneration. She asserts, "Kanishka's reliquary must be dated at the beginning of Gandhāra art."[60]

Abundant Gandhāran remains have been unearthed from Taxila, where there were three chief settlements, namely, the Bhir Mound to the south, Sirkap in the middle and Sirsukh to the north. These three areas appear to represent three separate cities, built like the several cities of Delhi by successive dynasties.[61] According to local tradition, the Bhir Mound is the most ancient of all the sites at Taxila and this tradition is fully confirmed by the discoveries made by Marshall which show that it was occupied as a city many centuries prior to the coming of the Greeks and that in the early part of the second century B.C. the capital was transferred by them to Sirkap.[62]

The second city, namely, Sirkap, is Indo-Greek, Scytho-

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59. Ibid, p.50.

60. Leeuw, S.P., p.99.

61. A.S.I., A.R., 1912-13, part I, p.9.

62. Marshall, G.T., p.4.

Parthian and early Kushān. The outstanding edifice here is a palace, the oldest parts of which are constructed of rough rubble masonry and date probably from the early part of the first century A.D.; there are, however, numerous later repairs and additions.[63] According to Marshall, this city was occupied until the reign of Vima Kadphises.[64] Attention has lately been drawn to the terminal date of the site which is by no means certain. Recent archaeological excavations tend to show that "The end of Sirkap need not.....be ascribed to a date much later than the time of Huvishka. A precise date being out of question, in the absence of a solid foundation for Kushān chronology, a date between A.D.150 and 200 may be supposed as an approximation."[65] Coins of Azes I, Azes II, Aspavarma, Gondopharnes, Hermaeus, Kadphises I and Huvishka along with various other objects are found here.[66] Within the city of Sirkap Marshall has unearthed the Great Apsidal Temple of the Buddhists which may be considered as the largest of its kind in India. He says that it is "Surrounded by a spacious compound with two raised platforms to right and left of the entrance and rows of chambers for the monks against the west compound wall. The chambers in the plan

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63. Marshall, G.T., p.80.

64. Ibid, p.78.

65. An.I., No.4, July, 1947, to January 1948, p.45.

66. Ibid, pp.81, 48 ff; Marshall, G.T., p.84.

which appear to be abutting on to these, belong in reality to buildings of the Parthian epoch in a lower stratum; they have nothing to do with this temple, which was erected in the early Kushan period, probably during the reign of Kujūla-Kadphises about 50 or 60 A.D."[67] Marshall in his "Guide to Taxila" gives the following description of the temple - "In the middle of the court stands the Apsidal Temple, and just as the court is raised above the level of the street, so the temple itself is raised on a plinth well above the level of the court. It consists of a spacious nave with a porch in front and a circular apse behind, the whole surrounded by an ambulatory passage (pradakshinā), to which access was gained from the front porch."[68] It is to be noted that the plan of this temple is generally similar to that of the Sudāma cave in the Barāban hills,[69] but in the latter case there was no porch in front and no passage around the outside of the chambers. In the middle of the apse, which measures 29 feet in diameter, there must originally have been a stūpa.[70]

The third city is Sirsukh which appears to have been built by the Kushāns probably during the reign of Kanishka I

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67. A.S.I.A.R., 1913-14, part I, p.14.

68. p.95.

69. cf. Fergusson, H.I.E.A., London, 1910, vol.I, p.130.

70. Marshall, G.T., p.96.

as suggested by Marshall.[71] In view of the recent excavations at Taxila great doubt, however, has been expressed as to the correctness of Marshall's suggestion. It has been conjectured that "Sirsukh, the third city of Taxila, may have been founded a little later than has been usually supposed, unless there was an overlap between the occupations of Sirkap and Sirsukh, a point, which, however, still remains to be established."[72] The plan of the city is almost a parallelogram and the walls are of massive construction, some 18 feet or more in thickness and protected by circular bastions on their outer side.[73]

In addition to these three cities, there are many other monuments, stūpas and monasteries scattered all over the site. The most outstanding among these is the imposing Dharmarājikā Stūpa, known locally as the 'Chir' or 'Split' Tope from the great cleft through its centre. It stands on a lofty plateau high above the Tamrā nāla.[74] Its main structure is circular in plan with a raised terrace round its base, which was ascended by four flights of steps, one at each of the cardinal points. Marshall says, "The core of the stūpa is of rough rubble masonry

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71. A.S.I., A.R., 1912-13, p.4; 1915-16, p.19.

72. An.I., No.4, p.45.

73. Marshall, G.T., pp.6, 109 ff.

74. A.S.I., A.R., 1912-13, part I, p.10.

strengthened by walls, between 3 and 5 feet in thickness, radiating from the centre. These construction walls stop short above the berm of the stūpa, instead of being carried down to its foundations, and appear to belong to a subsequent reconstruction of the fabric, which took place probably during the Kushān epoch. The outer facing is of ponderous limestone blocks with chiselled Kanjur stone let in between them for the mouldings and pilasters, the whole having once been finished with a coating of lime pilaster and paint. The ornamental stone carving on the face of the stūpa above the berm is best preserved on the eastern side. Its most distinguishing features are the boldness of its mouldings and the design of its niches, which are framed alternately by trefoil arches and portals with sloping jambs, and divided one from the other by Corinthian pilasters. These niches once held figures of the Buddha or of Bodhisattvas in relief. The same kind of decoration is also found on smaller stūpas on this site belonging to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. When the Dharmarājikā was first erected, is uncertain."[75] A few Gandhāran sculptures and a hoard of coins of Azes II, Soter Megas, Huvishka, Vāsudeva and also of Indo-Sassanian or Kushāno-Sassanian have been unearthed here.[76] Marshall says, "The Gandhāran sculptures

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75. Marshall, G.T., pp.39, 40.

76. Ibid, pp.41-42.

at Dharmarājikā stūpa must have been executed mainly in the second century A.D. during the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, for none of them have yet been found in any of the earlier strata. The sculptures are all of good style and belong probably to the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school, which appears to have been developed during the Śaka-Pahlava epoch and to have additional strength with the coming of the Kushāns.[77] A relic vase containing ashes and three coins of Kanishka is found in Stūpa K3.[78] One of the most interesting relics of India is found in the chapel G5. Marshall describes it as follows - "It consisted of a steatite vessel with a silver vase inside, and in the vase an inscribed scroll and a small gold casket containing some minute bone relics."[79] The inscription is in Kharoṣṭhī and dated in the year 136. The Chapel L and the apsidal temple I3 date from the Kushān period. In plan, the temple is generally similar to the 'Chaitya Halls' excavated in the living rock at Kārli, Ajaṇṭā, Ellorā and other places in Western and Central India, but in this case, as Marshall points out, the interior of the apse is octagonal instead of round.[80]

From the floor of the monastery at Mohrā Moradu many

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77. A.S.I., A.R., 1913-14, part I, p.12.

78. Marshall, G.T., p.51.

79. Ibid, p.54.

80. Ibid, p.58.

coins of Huvishka and Vāsudeva and also many Gandhāran sculptures were excavated.[81] Remains of the Kushān period have also been unearthed in the glen of Giri in Badalpur, Pippala and Jaulīān.[82]

Pushkalāvatī, the ancient capital of Gandhāra, has yielded Kushān coins and Gandhāran sculptures. A special interest attaches to Palatu Dherī as the find place of the Buddha image to which the Hashtnagar pedestal belongs. Coins of Kushān Kings, Gandhāran sculptures and stucco figures have also been unearthed in Palatu Dherī and the nearby Ghaz Dherī. Relics consisting of some fragments of bone and a little gold have been discovered below the surface of the monument in the Ghaz Dherī.[83]

Valuable relics have been discovered from the stūpa of Mānikyāla. An important inscription of the year 18 has also been discovered there,[84] but the stūpa is not of normal Gandhāran form but corresponds with the stūpas discovered by Masson in Afghānistān.[85]

The most important site where Kushān art flourished is, without any doubt, Mathurā. Mathurā clearly attained its importance owing to its geographical position. It is situated on the great trade-route, which connected

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81. Ibid, p.125.

82. Ibid, pp.61ff, 116ff, 126ff, 129ff.

83. A.S.I., A.R., 1902-03, pp.142ff.

84. See Supra, Chapter II.

85. [illegible] Cunningham, Anc. Ind., p.52.

Pushkalāvatī and Taxila with Pāṭaliputra on the lower Ganges and, also, with Bhārukachcha, the busy sea-port on the west coast.[86] A large number of stūpas, both Buddhist and Jain, have been discovered here which demonstrate its former ascendancy. Numerous inscriptions of the Kushān period bear testimony of the time when both these religions flourished at Mathurā. The Buddhist convent founded by Huvishka was conspicuous for the splendour of its sculptural ornamentation. Both within the city and around it, many typical remains have been found, complete with carved stūpa railings and gateways, as well as numerous Brāhmaṇical shrines and images,[87] and the importance of Mathurā, as a studio-centre continued into the Gupta period.

It is often suggested that there are traces of western influence in the Kushān sculptures of Mathurā. Dealing with this problem Vogel suggests, "A study of the railings, many parts of which have been recovered, is sufficient to prove that the Mathurā school must be considered as a direct development of the early sculpture of Central India. It is, therefore, fundamentally Indian. The art of Mathurā, nevertheless, contains several elements which point to Western influence. This is especially evident in a few sculptured groups, such as the Heracles with the Nemean

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86. See Supra, Chapter I.

87. Smith, H.F.A.I.C., p.41.

lion, and the so-called Bacchanalian group, of which two examples have been found not far from the city of Mathurā. The former is a very feeble copy of a well-known Hellenistic motif, the latter a more felicitous representation of a corpulent Silenus with his satellites. Strange though it may seem, there is no doubt as to their provenance from a Buddhist sanctuary. The drunken Silenus probably figured as a prince of the Yakshas with his retinue. These specimens, however, should not be considered as characteristic of the school of Mathurā. Too much attention, perhaps, has been paid to them by Western archaeologists. They do not justify the conclusion that Mathurā was more directly influenced by Hellenic art than was Gandhāra. On the contrary, it is clear that the foreign elements which we noticed reached Mathurā by way of Gandhāra, and that consequently the former received a secondhand and consequently weakened, imprint."[88] This view clearly indicates that Vogel supposes Gandhāran sculpture to be earlier than Mathurā sculpture.

While discussing the general characteristics of Mathurā art, Vogel says, "The Mathurā school, like that of Gandhāra exhibits a combination of foreign and native elements; but its fundamental character is essentially

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88. J.Ph.Vogel, Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java, transl. by A.J.Barnouw, Oxford, 1936, pp.31-32.

Indian, and evolved, as we saw, from the national sculpture of Central India. It lacks the naive freshness of that older art, but excels it by greater skill in plastic portrayal. Western influence is here only secondary, and the foreign elements are less conspicuous, since they have been largely absorbed as the result of a growing tendency towards indianisation."[89] It is evident that numerous types of images were produced by the studios of Mathurā. The early Kushān Buddha and Bodhisattva type have certain distinctive peculiarities, which are described by Coomaraswamy as follows:- "The sculpture is in the round, or very high relief, and always in the mottled red sandstone of Sikrī or Rūp Bās; the head is shaven, never covered with curls; the uṣnīsa, wherever preserved, is spiral; there is no ūrṇa and no moustache; the right hand is raised in abhaya mudrā, the left is often clenched, and rests on the thigh in seated figures, or in standing figures supports the folds of the robe, the elbow being always at some distance from the body; the breasts are curiously prominent, though the type is absolutely masculine, and the shoulders very broad; the robe leaves the right shoulder bare; the drapery moulds the flesh very closely, and is arranged in schematic folds; the seat is never a lotus, but always a lion throne (Siṁhāsana) without

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89. Ibid, p.36.

miniature figures, while in the case of standing figures there is often a seated lion between the feet; the gesture and features are expressive of enormous energy, rather than of repose or sweetness, nor is there any suggestion of intended grace. The nimbus is plain or scalloped at the edge in low relief. All of these characterisations apply with equal force to the early Kushān images of Jinas, and the great majority represent the contrary of what is to be found in Gandhāra."[90] Regarding the peculiarities of the later type of images, he continues, "The general treatment is rather more refined; the robe is often thrown over both shoulders, and in seated figures, both feet are hidden and more voluminously rendered; figures, probably of donors, appear on the pedestals; and above all, the head is covered with short curly hair, examples of the shaven head gradually disappearing."[91]

In this connection it is to be noted that distinctive Gandhāran features have been noticed by archaeologists on some specimens of the Buddha image. Vogel is of the opinion that "This is certainly the case in one special category, portraying the Buddha wrapped in a monk's robe which reveals in its conventionalised drapery the influence of Western art. The pedestal of sitting figures is sometimes adorned with a relief representing a Bodhisattva

90. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., p.57.
91. Ibid, p.61.

seated in the attitude of meditation between devotees, who bring him offerings. Here again Gandhāran influence is undeniable."[92] Leeuw supports Vogel and says that "During the reign of Huviṣka, however, there is a great revolution in the style of Mathurā. This change is caused by a strong influx of influences from Gandhāra, probably due to the fact that the art of this country had by this time risen to such a height that its products passed the borders and drew the attention of sculptors from other parts of India. The results of this can clearly be seen, for instance in the Buddha images at Mathurā."[93]

In the beginning of the reign of Kanishka I we come across the first dated Buddha from Mathurā, though there are obviously other Buddha images which are older than this. This image was found at Kausāmbī and is dated in the year 2 of his reign.[94] Judging from the style and the kind of stone used it can be asserted that the image clearly originates from a workshop at Mathurā.

Another standing Bodhisattva dated in the third year of Kanishka I was found between the main shrine and the Jagat Singh Stūpa of Sārnāth. Codrington gives a lucid description of the image, "The left hand rests on the hip,

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92. Vogel, B.A.I.C.J., pp.33-34.

93. Leeuw, S.P., pp.180-81.

94. Ep.Ind, vol.24, 1938, pp.210-12 with plate.

and although the right hand is broken away it probably complied with the almost universal Kushān tradition and was raised to the shoulder in the 'abhaya mudrā'. The body is beautifully modelled. The fine waistcloth is tied by a knotted band while the upper cloth hangs over the left shoulder, being gathered at the wrist, leaving the right shoulder bare. Its folds are delicately portrayed by shallow, schematic lines, which are straight wherever the subject will allow of it. Its lower edge is gathered up into a heavy fold, in which one might see the origin of the later Kushān treatment of the cloth in one roll, diagrammatically curving over and behind the shoulders. The features are broad and of the Indian type, suavely treated. The head is smooth, no representation of hair being attempted. There is, however, a small mortice in which some sort of 'uṣṇīsa' must have been fixed. No ūrṇa is shown. The figure was originally painted in light red and brown. Between the feet is a lion, identifying the subject as Śākyamuni."[95]

According to Codrington, there are three types of Kushān seated Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of which the famous Katrā Bodhisattva of the Mathurā Museum is of particular importance.[96] In addition to these sculptures, there are

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95. Codrington, Anc. Ind., p.44.

96. For description, see Ibid, pp.44-45.

various fragments, which display the wide-range of Mathurā art. The most important of these are 'āyāgapaṭas' or votive tablets, a number of which were found by Smith at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, near Mathurā, together with many other Jain remains[97], including pillars, pillar-bases and, also, fragments of the pedestals of large images[98].

In this connection it is interesting to note that in Mathurā a very large number of Jina images has been found along with the Buddhist images. Indeed, it is striking how similar Buddhist and Jain sculpture is. Leeuw holds, "Early Indian art has never been sectarian and therefore it is impossible to talk of Jainistic or Buddhistic art in those very first schools of art. At most every religion had definite subjects that were preferably represented or purposely not represented. But in itself the sculptors of the various religions had the same original source."[99]

At Mathurā a standing headless figure of dark-red sandstone was, also, found, which has been identified as the figure of Kanishka I and is probably the earliest

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97. V.Smith, The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura, A.S.I., New Imperial Series, vol.XX, Allahabad, 1901, pp.14ff.

98. Coomaraswamy, H.I.I.A., pp.62ff.

99. Leeuw, S.P., p.152.

surviving example of portrait sculpture in India. Kramrisch says, "The angles of Kanishka's coat, the enormous horizontal bar of his boots, the inscription of his name across the surface of his vestments indicate that the artist was of the same race as his patron"[100], but the work is typically Mathurā.

The workshops at Mathurā did, indeed, do good business in supplying images over a very wide area in Northern India, examples occurring as far to the north-west as Taxila and as far to the east as Gayā and Patna[101].

The art of Mathurā is, therefore, not confined to the city itself. On the contrary, it has much in common with the contemporary art of Amarāvati, though direct contact cannot be postulated. There is, also, a close correspondence, as suggested by Codrington, between Kushān figure sculpture of the middle period and the sculpture of the later cave-temples at Kārli and Kānheri[102].

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100. S.Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, The Heritage of India Series, Calcutta, London, 1933, p.43.

101. Rawlinson, India, I.A., p.19.

102. Codrington, Anc.Ind., p.47.

The analysis of Kushān pottery types has not yet been accomplished, though certain wares and shapes are clearly identifiable as Kushān. Recent excavations at Bhoali,[103] near Mathurā, Ahichchhatra[104] in Bareilly district, United Provinces and Taxila (Sirkap)[105] have unearthed a large amount of pottery ascribable to the Kushān period. In all these cases, there is a considerable degree of certainty as to the period to which the pottery excavated belongs because of the fact that Kushān coins have been discovered in the strata concerned. At Ahichchhatra the Kushān pottery is distinguished by stamped decoration, and mainly consisting of symbols or designs such as are found on Indian coins and, also, on sculpture.[106] The entire range of pottery with the exception of large storage jars and a few freaks discovered at Sirkap is wheel-turned and made of a well-levigated clay of fine or medium, rarely coarse grain. The pots are fired under conditions of oxidization and vary from dull red or greyish red to pink or light red in colour. But grey wares are also found here.[107] The variation in colour is fairly consistent and kiln-conditions must, therefore, have been well under control.

The types of Kushān pottery vary considerably, but

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103. J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XV, part 2, December 1942, pp.135 ff.
104. An.I., No.1., January 1946, pp.37 ff.
105. Ibid, No.4., July 1947 - January 1948, pp.48 ff.
106. Ibid, No.1., p.41.
107. Ibid, No.4, p.48.

again each type is distinct. Codrington says of Indian pottery as a whole, "Where the Western housewife must put up with jugs and basins of a few standard types, the villager's wife is accustomed to having a special pot to her hand for almost every special purpose, and the potter is willing and able to turn them out for her".[108] This fact, no doubt, accounts for the multiplicity of types of Kushān pottery.

At Sirkap has been discovered a type of bowl with a flaring rim, a pronounced, bluntly carinated shoulder and a small flat base. It is a light-red ware of fine or medium frabric and is normally without slip but sometimes has a pink to dark-red slip internally and externally. A small percentage of this type and of all its variants is decorated with black paint on the interior of the rim, the usual design being a hatched or cross-hatched triangle alternating with other linear patterns. Some of the variants bear peculiar painted ornaments, such as, one or two solid triangles flanked by parallel lines, and, also, a slightly curved upright alternating with parallel lines and dots.[109] (Plate A, fig. 1, 1a-1i).

Analogus in shape with this type another kind of bowl has been found with a broader and more flaring rim. It is of a light-red ware of fine or medium fabric and is usually treated with red slip both inside and out.[110] (Plate A, fig.2).

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108. Codrington, M.A.I., I.A., p.171.

109. An.I., No.4, pp.50, 51, Type 1, 1a-c, 1e-g, 1m-o.

110. Ibid, Type 2.

Another bluntly carinated bowl occurs, which is distinguished by a flat rim, grooved neck and pedestal base. It is of a light-red ware of medium fabric, sometimes with a grey core and is treated with red slip both inside and out. It is a highly specialized type and occurs occasionally throughout the occupation of Sirkap.[111] (Plate A, fig. 3).

The most common type of Kushān pottery is the open bowl with a flat base the minimum diameter from which the sides gradually slope upwards to a slightly in-turned rim. This type has been discovered in Maholi, Ahichchhtra, Sirkap, Rohtak, Kila, Delhi and Ujjain.[112] (Plate A, fig. 4). Describing this type Krishna Deva says that it is of a dull-red to light-red ware of medium or coarse fabric and is rarely treated with red slip. A few specimens are also in grey ware. Occasionally

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111. Ibid, Type, 3.

112. J.U.P. H.S., Vol. XV, Part 2, December 1942, p.135, see Pl.I, fig. I; An.I., No.1. Types 29, 30, p.44, 46; Ibid, No.4., pp.50, 53, Type 5; for the sites from which this type has been unearthed, see J.U.P. H.S., vol. XV, Part 2, December 1942, p. 135, f.n.3.

the surface is left unsmooth showing corrugations produced by the fingers in throwing.[113] These little bowls were obviously turned at high speed and were certainly in common use. It is to be noted that this type may be compared with an identical type of bowl found in Arikamedu near Pondicherry.[114] Krishna Deva says that this similarity, however, must not be held to imply close cultural or other links between Northern and Southern India as this type has a wide range in time and space in India,[115] but the similarity of form is incontestable. Another type of bowl analogus to this type has been discovered in Sirkap. It is without any rim and is a common type at this site occurring through all phases of its occupation.[116] (Plate A, fig. 5).

Various types of dish have, also, been unearthed from Sirkap. They are as follows : flat dish, with an almost flat rim and a sagger base, made of a light-grey ware of medium fabric and treated with red slip on both sides,[117] (Plate A, fig 6); thick-walled dish of a greyish-red or light-red ware of medium or coarse fabric with a tooled bevelled rim,[118] (Plate A, fig. 7); dish, with an externally projecting rim, the sides having a slight inward projection;

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113. An.I., No.4, p.50.
114. Ibid, No.2, pp.93, 58, see Type 12.
115. Ibid, p.93.
116. Ibid, No.4, pp.52, 53, Type 6.
117. Ibid, pp.52, 54, Type 18.
118. Ibid, Type 19.

made of a light-red ware and normally treated with red slip on both faces[119] (Plate A, fig. 8); dish or bowl of a light-red ware or of grey ware with red slip inside and outside with a slight rim, decorated with an incised band, sometimes the variants having two such bands[120] (Plate A, fig. 9a); dish distinguished by a bevelled rim with a single incised band immediately below the rim, made of a light-red ware of medium fabric, normally treated with bright-red slip both inside and out[121] (Plate A, fig.10); dish or bowl of a light-red ware of fine fabric, invariably treated with bright-red slip both inside and outside, with an external rim and band decorations[122] (Plate B, fig. 11); dish with a sagger base and beaded rim, of a light-red ware of fine or medium fabric, normally treated with red slip inside and outside[123] (Plate B, fig.12); and dish or pan of a greyish red or light-red ware of fine, often hard-burnt, fabric, normally treated with a red slip both inside and outside, with a peculiar thickened rim, slightly, concave sides and a sagger base[124] (Plate B, fig.13).

The commonest type of basin used during the Kushān period is thick-walled with an inturned and thickened rim,

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119. Ibid, Type 20.
120. Ibid, pp.53,54, Types 21,21a.
121. Ibid, Type 22.
122. Ibid, Type 23.
123. Ibid, Type 24.
124. Ibid, Type 25.

tapering profile and a flat base. It is usually of a greyish-red or light-red ware and is normally of coarse gritty fabric, internally grey. It is usually treated with red slip both inside and outside (Plate B, fig. 14). It has several variants.[125]

Various types of large vessels were in use, of which a vessel with a flaring neck and a distinctive out-turned rim is most common. It is of a greyish-red to light-red ware of medium to coarse fabric and is normally treated with red slip outside. (Plate B, fig. 15). This type has several variants.[126]

During the Kushān period the cooking vessel used has several variants. Generally it has an out-turned rim and is of a greyish-red to light-red ware of medium or coarse fabric. It is normally treated with red slip outside. Sometimes these vessels are small in size with distinctive ridged shoulder and are made of a dull-red or light-red ware of medium to coarse fabric (Plate B, fig. 16,17).[127]

At Sirkap has been unearthed a goblet with a wide flaring mouth and a pedestal-base. Its prototype was of

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125. Ibid, pp.55, 56, Type 27; see also Types 28, 29,30,31, 32, pp.55, 56, 57.

126. Ibid, No.4, pp.59,60, Type 41; for other types see also Types 42, 43.

127. Ibid, pp.59, 60, 61, Types 44, 45; for other types see also Type 46, pp.59, 61.

metal, examples of which have been found at Sirkap. It is of a light-red ware of fine fabric and is treated with red slip inside and outside. (Plate B, fig. 18). This type is freely represented amongst the pottery from Begrām, which is situated fifty miles north of Kābul in Afghānistān.[128]

In addition to these types of pottery, various other minor types were in use in the Kushān period.[129] From Maholi have been excavated sherds of a rather friable flanky light buff pottery on which is a heavy turquoise blue glaze. Waddington says, "Archaeologically, there is not a shadow of doubt that this pottery is contemporary with the rest of the pottery found at the site. We find similar fragments at the Chaubara mounds, which were examined by General Cunningham about 1871 and at several of the other Kushān sites in the vicinity. So we are led to the conclusion that glazed pottery was known in Kushān times".[130] Painted sherds have, also, been found at Sirkap. They bear a design of festoons and tassels in black.[131]

The terracottas of the Kushān period provide material of the greatest interest. These clay figurines are often regarded as the poor man's sculpture, but, even so they bear ample testimony to the culture of the time. It is

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128. Ibid, pp.62, 63, Type 53; for other types, see Types 54, 56.
129. Ibid, pp.64, 63, 62, 55, 67, Types 58, 59, 60, 61, 57, 35.
130. J.U.P.H.S., vol. XV, Part 2, December 1942, p.138.
131. An.I., No.4, pp.67, 68, Type XXI, fig. 15.

needless to mention that terracottas existed in India before the advent of the Kushāns.[132] Gordon has studied in detail the terracottas, found at many sites in the North West Frontier Province, as well as at Taxila, Mathurā and Buxar. According to him, the figurines of archaic appearance, found in the North-West India, may be classified as (1) the Sar Dherī type, (2) the Sahri Bahlol type and (3) the Akhtar Dherī type. The first type has the following characteristics:[133] - Applied and incised eye formed by applying oval pellets of clay to the face and incising them from nose to ear by the stroke of some sharp edged instrument. Some of these figurines are chinless, some have applied mouths, some have no mouths at all, but with the exception of one specific type, in which the eyes are worked up from the face material by modelling and then incised, the eyes of all are applied and incised; the Sar Dherī figures have rosetted head-dresses. Gordon says that the area of this type is that of Gandhāra and that the date is not prior to 200 B.C. at the earliest.

Gordon is of the opinion that the next type, namely, the Sahri Bahol type[134], includes three related forms of terracotta figure. The first is a female figure with out-spread arms and legs, with high comb-like head-dress; the face is slightly pinched forward having no eyes or

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132. J.I. S.O.A., vol. XI, 1943, pp.146 ff.
133. Ibid, pp.146, 147.
134. Ibid, p.148.

nose and an incised mouth, and sometimes long lobed ears. The second is a cylindrical pedestal figure with the same style of head and with joined hands. The third has the same head and joined hands but balances on three legs. Gordon places all these figures not earlier than the first century A.D.

The next type, namely, the Akhter Pherī[135] type, generally consists of a spade shaped figures with a four-sided lower portion and the head covered with small indentations and pricking.

Speaking of Kushān terracottas in general Codrington says that "The bulk of the Kushān and Gandhāran figurines seem to be moulded".[136] Gordon postulates that the early moulded figures of classical type may be dated from ca.200 B.C. to the commencement of the christian era.[137] Recent excavations at Ahichchhatra have unearthed a large number of terracotta figurines, some of which are ascribable to the Kushān period. Dwarfs and other grostesques types may be considered as a characteristic type of the Kushān period, being found in sub-stretum IV.c. (A.D.100-200).[138] Among Mithuna figures Dampati or 'husband and wife' plaques are, also, common,[139] about which Agrawala says,

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135. Ibid.
136. I.A., vol. LX, 1931, p.145.
137. J.I.S.O.A., vol. XI, 1943, p.151.
138. An.I. no.4, p.119.
139. Ibid, p.113.

"The figures are divested of all religious feeling and are types of youthful men and women devoted to love. They conform to the descriptions of the classical poets like Bhāsa, Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa. In art the type had become established much earlier, at least in the Śuṅga period (second century B.C) and it continued into the Pañchāla (100 B.C. - A.D.100), Kushān and Gupta periods, when it is often repeated as a favourite motif in the stone reliefs".[140]

A type of dwarf musicians and drummers has, also, been discovered in Ahichchhatra, which, according to Agrawala, is crudely hand-made (not moulded) and represents a foreign type, most probably Irānian.[141] This type has a triangular face with pointed chin, diamond-shaped eyes, incised or indicated by appliqué pellets, conical skull-cap or 'kulah' and undigitated hands. Agrawala ascribes this type to the early Kushān period.[142]

As has been seen at Ahichchhatra a few figures with foreign ethnic features have been unearthed. The limited evidence tends to show that the heads with round protruding eyes represent the Kidāra-Kushāṇas as these features, according to Agrawala, are traceable on the coins of the

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140. Ibid.

141. Ibid, p.124.

142. Ibid.

Kidāra-Kushāns.[143]

In addition to these types, there exist various other types of Kushān terracottas. At Mathurā the following types have been discovered :- Heads of noblemen with the characteristic Kirīṭamukuṭa, dancing female, mother and child, Buddhist and Brāhmanical deities, Nāgas and Nāgīs, Kubera and Harītī, Vasudhārā and Kāmadeva, the God of Love.[144] At Sahri Bahlol have been found figures of horsemen with quilted coats and other equipment; Gordon has attributed this type to the early Kushān period.[145]

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143. Ibid, pp.155, 158, sub-type V.

144. J.U.P.H.S., vol. IX, pt.II, July, 1936, p.33.

145. J.I.S.O.A., vol. XI, 1943, p.167.

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

		Plate
i)	COINS	I-III
ii)	SCULPTURE	IV-VIII
iii)	POTTERY	A and B. (a)

(a) For description of Pl.A and B, see Chapter VI.

(1)

i) Coins

Kadphises I :-

1. Type - With the bust of Hermaios (Hermaeus)
   Metal - Copper.
   Pl. - I, 1.

2. Type - Macedonian soldier.
   Metal - Copper.
   Pl. - I, 2.

3. Type - With head of Augustus.
   Metal - Copper.
   Pl. - I, 3.

4. Type - Bull and Camel.
   Metal - Copper.
   Pl. - I, 4.

Kadphises II :-

1. Type - obv. bust of King; rev. two-armed Siva.
   Metal - Gold.
   Pl. - I, 5.

2. Type - obv. head of the King in frame; rev. combined trident and battle-axe.
   Metal - Gold.
   Pl. - I, 6.

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(1) For details, see Smith, Catal., pp.65-87.

3. Type - obv. standing King and altar; rev. Siva and bull.

Metal - Copper.

Pl. - I, 7.

Kanishka I :-

Type - obv. King standing at altar, (with various titles); rev. a deity.

Metal - Gold.

Pl. - I, 8, 9, 10.

Metal - Copper.

Pl. - I, 11; II, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Huvishka :-

1. Type - obv. bust of King; rev. a deity.

Metal - Gold.

Pl. - II, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

2. Type - obv. King riding elephant; rev. a deity.

Metal - Copper.

Pl. - III, 1, 2, 3, 4.

3. Type - obv. King nimbate, seated on cushions (or? clouds), facing, cross-legged; rev. a deity.

Metal - Copper.

Pl. - III, 5.

4. Type - obv. King seated on throne, with right knee tucked up; rev. a deity.

Metal - Copper.

Pl. - III, 6.

5. Type - obv. King diad. seated, with legs down; head to the right; rev. a deity.

Metal - Copper.

Pl. - III, 7.

Vāsudeva I :-

Type - obv. King at altar; rev. Śiva and bull.

Metal - Gold.

Pl. - III, 8.

Metal - Copper (2)

Pl. - III, 9, 10.

Vasu :-

Type - Kushān King at altar, and throned goddess; name Vasu in Brāhmī characters.

Metal - Gold.

Pl. - III, 11.

ii) Sculpture

Plate

IV ((a) Statue of Kanishka, Mathurā.

((b) Reliquary of Bīmarān.

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(2) According to Smith, No.10 appears to be an imitation of Vāsudeva's coinage, Ibid, p.85.

V (a) Buddha, Gandhāra; Boston

(b) Reliquary of Kanishka found at Shāh-ji-ki-Ḍherī; Calcutta Museum.

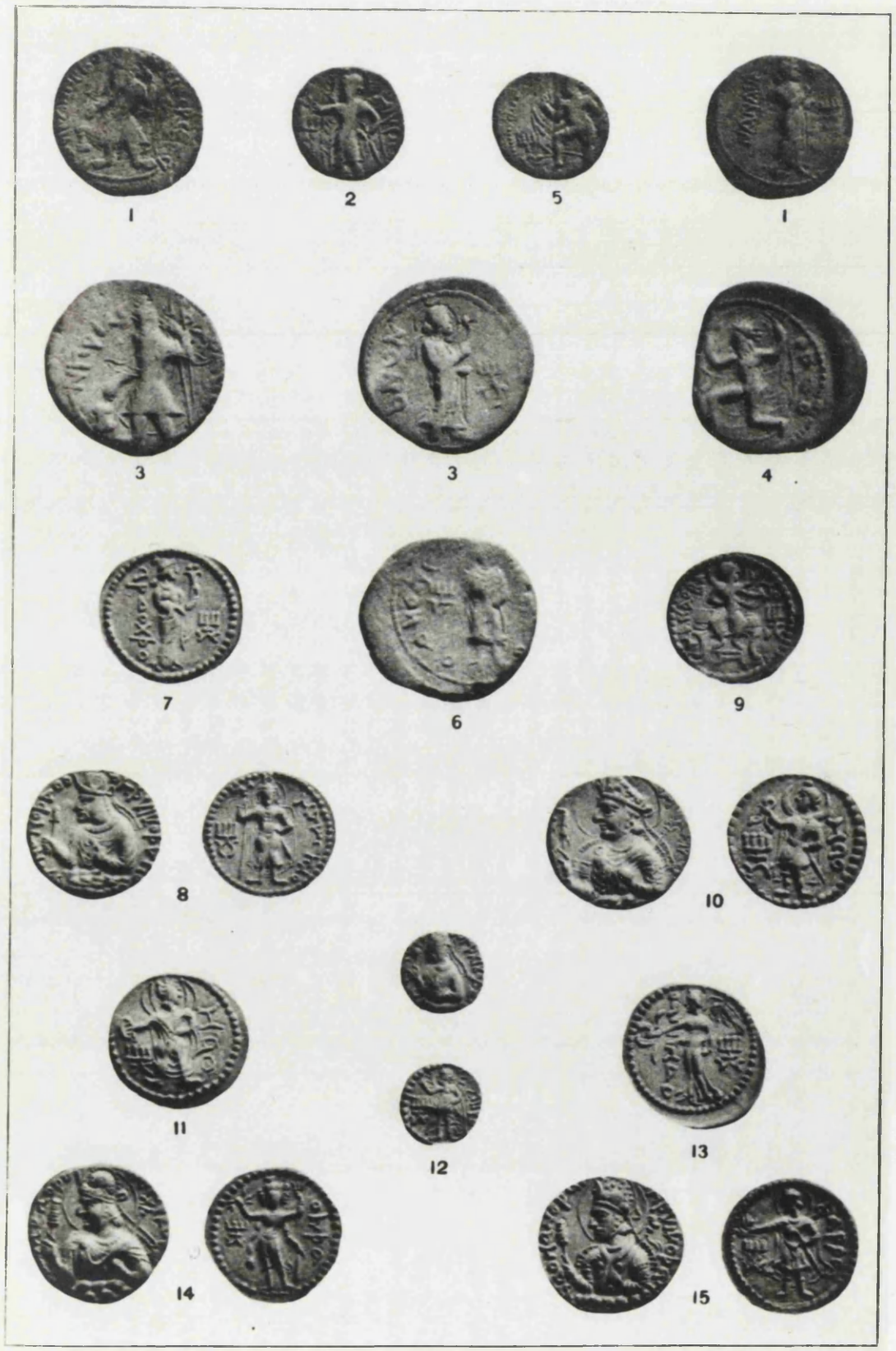
VI Bodhisattva, year 3, Sārnāth; Sārnāth Museum.

VII Seated Buddha found at Kaṭrā; Curzon Museum, Mathurā.

VIII Āyāgapaṭa found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā; Lucknow Provincial Museum.

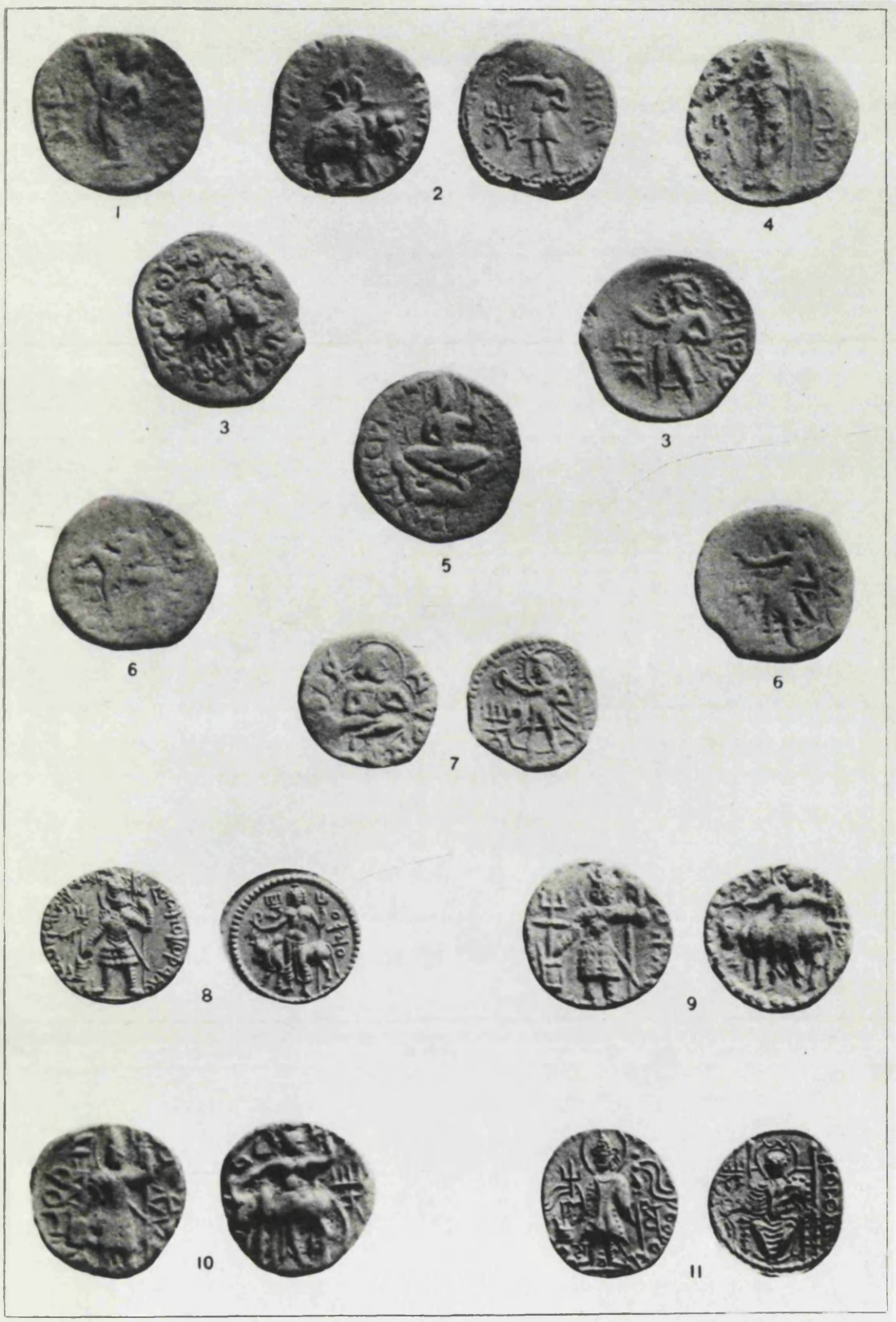
KUSHĀN COINS

KADPHISES I, KADPHISES II, KANISHKA I



KUSHĀN COINS

KANISHKA I, HUVISHKA



KUSHĀN COINS

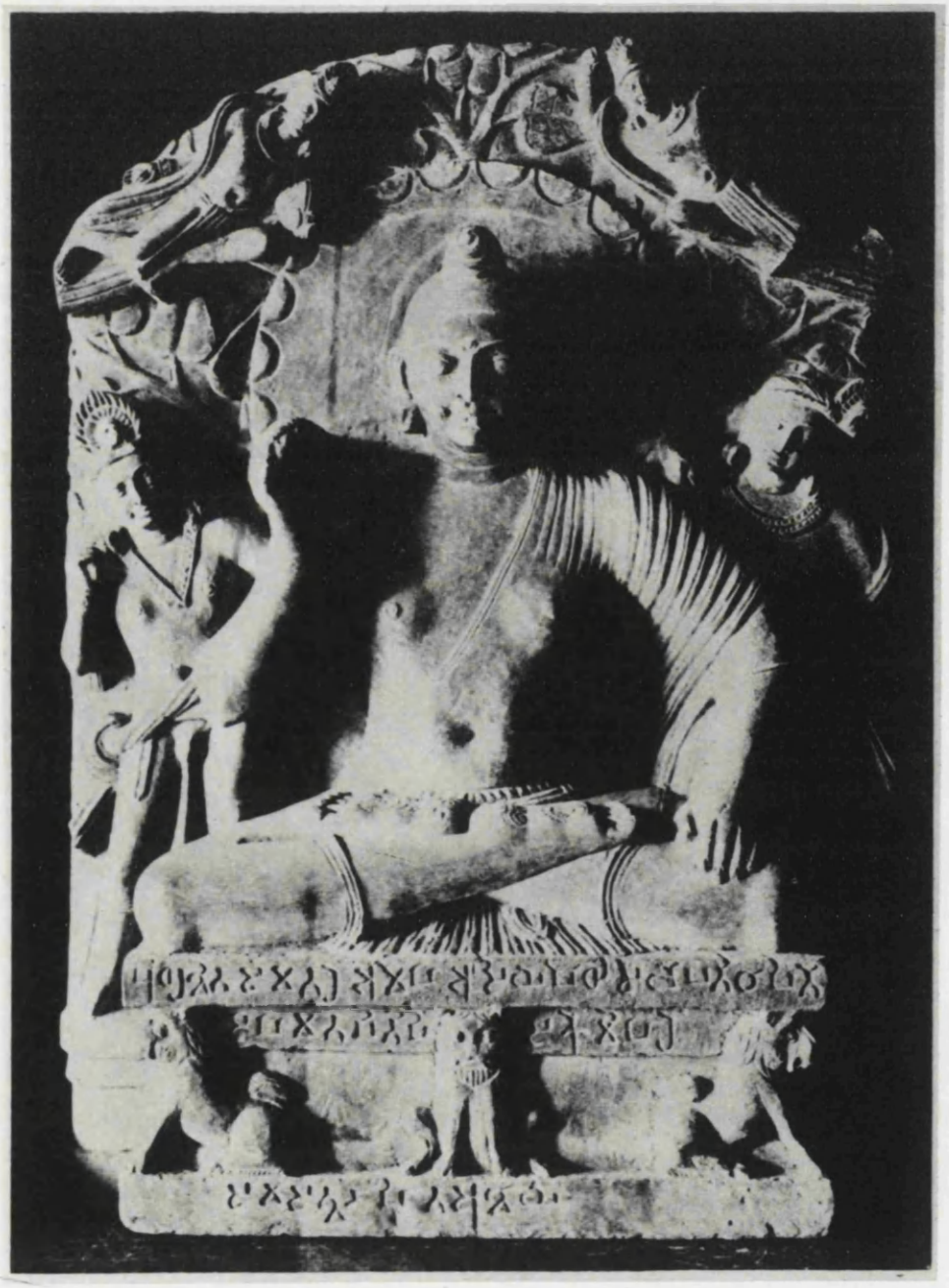
HUVISHKA, VĀSUDEVA I, VASU

(a)

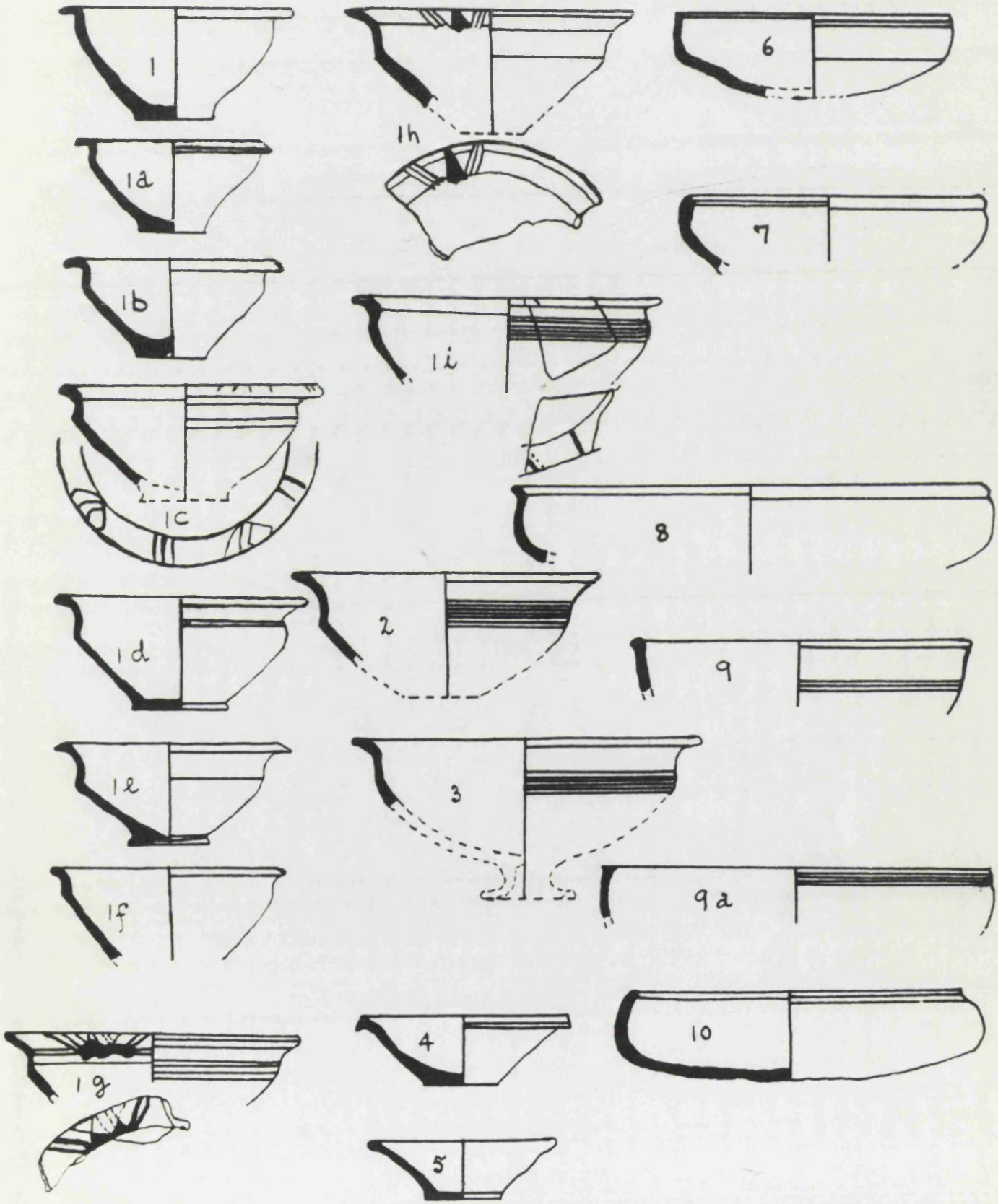
(b)

(a)

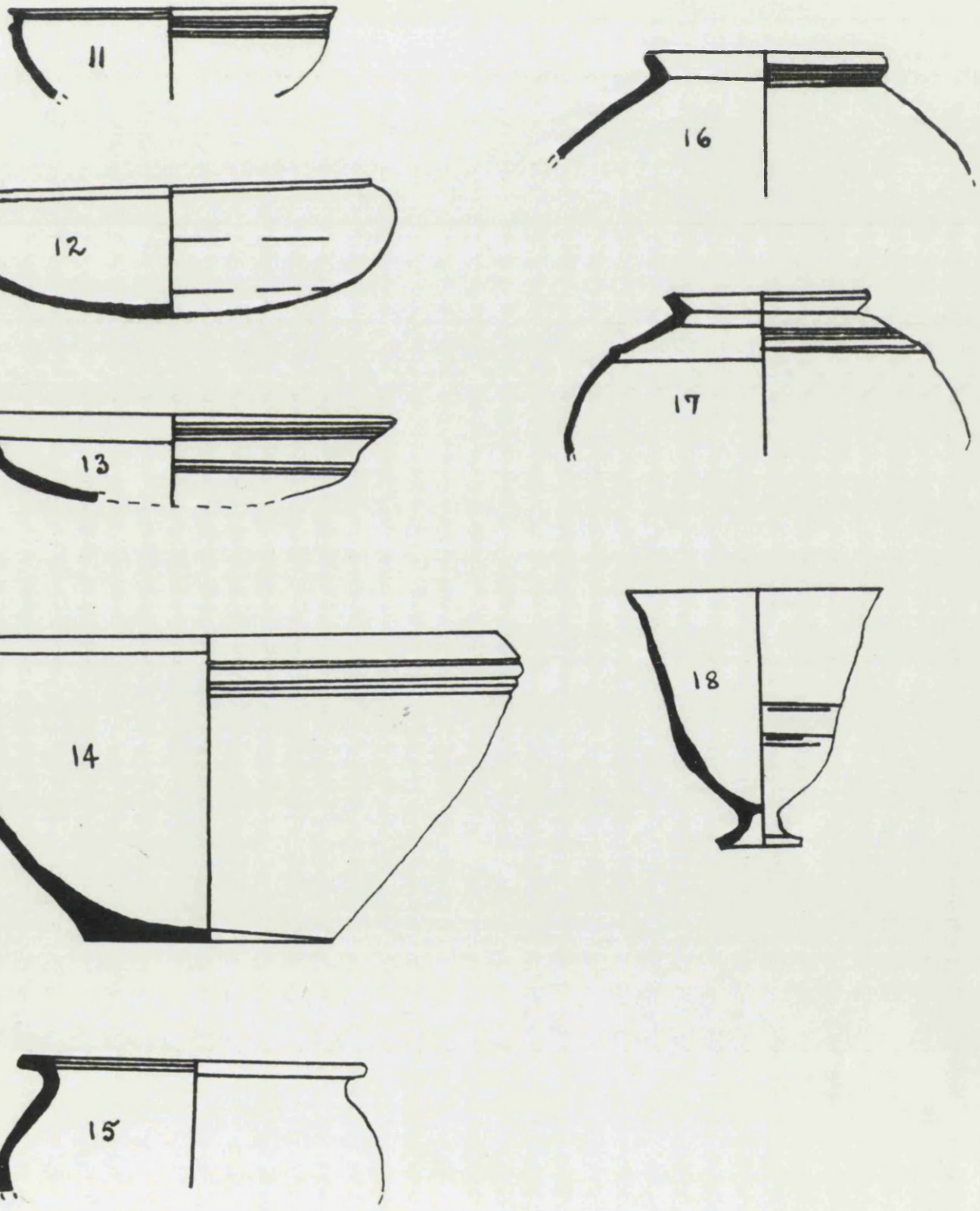
(b)



PL. A



PL. B



Title of the Thesis
for the Ph. D. examination:-

"The Cultural History of the Kushān Dynasty"

Name of the Candidate:- Kanai Chandra Paul.
Name of the Institution:- Institute of Archaeology.

S Y N O P S I S.

The history of Kushān dynasty is often neglected as throwing little light on the cultural history of India and, this being so, attention has so far been paid only to the problems connected with the chronology of the Kushān kings and with the origin of the Buddha figure. For the first time an attempt is made here to draw a picture of the cultural progress made, as a whole, in the Kushān period, by utilising all available literary and archaeological data.

Chapter I - The first chapter deals with the geographical features of the area over which the Yue-chi and the Kushāns ruled. The various overland routes passed through this area have, also, been fully discussed.

Chapter II - The second chapter deals with the problems connected with chronology and the date of the Kushān Kings, as well as the political history

of the dynasty.

Chapter III - In the third chapter the administrative system of the Kushāns together with the Kushān idea of divine kingship have been discussed.

Chapter IV - The fourth chapter deals with Kushān commercial relations with China, Rome and the Indian peninsula. The overland and the maritime trade and the craft and trade guild organisations have been studied in detail.

Chapter V. - The fifth chapter deals with contemporary Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and other religious matter. Lists of the deities, found on the Kushān coins, are given. Attempts are, also, made to study the social conditions concerning caste, the position of women, costume, musical instruments, education and learning.

Chapter VI - In the sixth chapter Kushān art and culture, as manifested in Gandhāran and Mathurā sculpture, pottery and terracottas, have been studied. A short review of the important archaeological sites has, also, been given.

Four maps, showing the geographical features of the area concerned, are supplied.

A number of plates are, also, attached in order to illustrate the types of pottery, sculpture and coins.